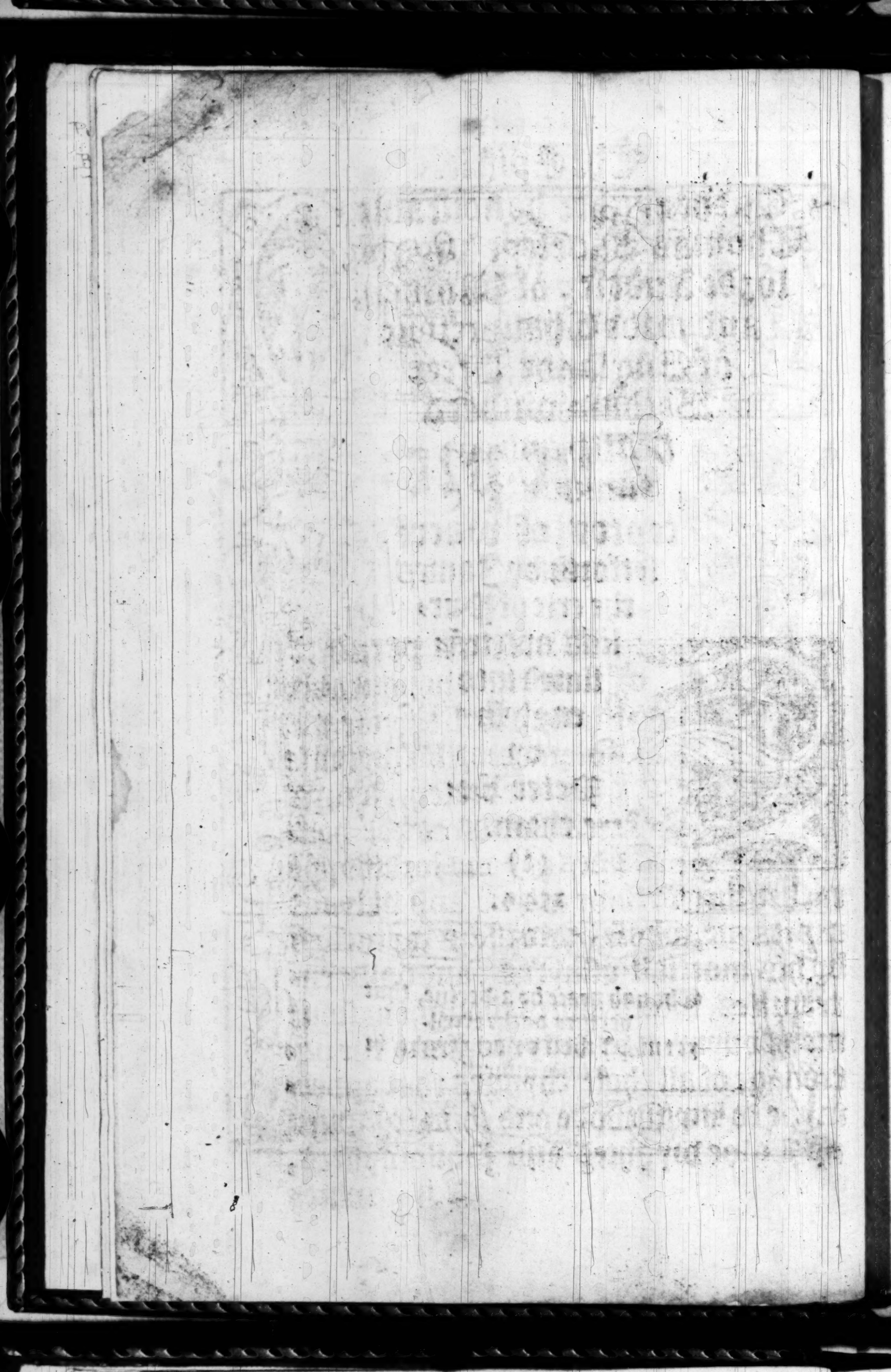
The pre-
ceptes of warre,
set forth by James
the erle of Pur-
lilia, and trã-
slated into
englysh
by
Peter Be-
dom tham.

1544.

Though peace be a vertue, that
vertues do the excell.
yet mayst thou boldely fyght, in
a iuste quarell.



The Epistle.

To the ryghte honourable syr Thomas Audeleye knyght, lorde Audeley of Walden, and lorde Chauncelour of Englande, Peter Betham wisheth healthe and cõtinuaunce of honour

Some men peraduẽture (right honourable lorde) wyll thynke me blameworthie, bycause I haue presented thys translation to the handes of your lordshyppe rather then to some actyue and valyaũt capitayne, whose prowesse is wytnessed by his martiall affayres, and bolde enterprises, which also is thought in some mens opynyon by dutye to haue the patronage of all those thynges that appertayne to knyghthode and chiualry. Euen as Lawe wyghtes and Philosophers,

which take to theyr selues ỹ perfect knowledge of thynges, are iudged amonge all other men (althoughe there be some men, whose iudgement is no lesse allowable) mooste worthye, of whome in maters doubtfull, we ought to aske coũsayle, and those men ben estemed vnwise whych debate suche causes with other, then wyth them, syth they haue professed that knowledge: Yet to those whych weye thynges by the outewarde face, breuely I wyl make this answere. Lyke as there be many men whych although they haue not theyr beerdes longe, their lockes lyinge on theyr shoulders, ne be clothed with the robes of a philosopher yet for theyr hygh knowledge, they are not vnworthy that name. Euen so there be amonge noble men, that be worthye to haue the praysefull name of a cappytayne, not for theyr brode shoulders, out sette brestes, and knyghtlye feates: But for theyr wysedome, conueyaunce, and watchefull foreseinge of all suche thynges, wyych by any meanes maye anoie

or ouerwhelme the state of the common wealth. For the strength of the bodye is not to be matched wyth wytfulnesse and fyne vnderstandynge. And that cytye is not best defenced whyche is inuyronned wyth stronge walles, and warded with fortresses of bulworkes, trenches, and suche other lyke, but that whyche wyth wyse counsaylours is pryptyp and strengthed.

Also ryght honourable lorde, lyke as Cicero whyche was chosen Consull in the ciuyle and inwarde ruffelyng, by the free consente of good men, was worthely called the father of theyr countrye, defendour of theyr cytye, and mayntayner of theyr liberties, not for his valyauntnesse in warrely dedes, and that he was the graunde capytayne to leade the Romayne power agaynste Catilyne, and hys mooste wycked fellowes, but that throughe hys endeuoure and carefulle dylygence, he saued the cytye of Rome from fyre, the virgyns and wyues from rauyshyng, and the tẽples frõ spoyling,

the Senatours from slaughter, and thoughtlesse for hys owne lyfe, banquyshed the cursed conspiracye of Catiline, with the whole route of so many brainlyke hopelostes, whych were alied vnto hym. Thys was not done by hys stoute fyghtynge, but by hys dilygente carefulnesse & swete orations: by whiche he brought to passe all hys attemptates and assayers. Euen so ryght honourable lorde, you beyng chosen to this hygh offyce, whyche by you is settefoorth and honested, haue bothe in inwarde commotions, and outward warres, shewed your endeuour to defende this royalme, as well from the bloodsheddynge and slaughter of it selfe, as from the entryes of forayne enemyes, not that you dydde beare harnesse on youre backe, lodge in the campe, and leade an armye, but that by your aduyse and counsayle, such thinges haue ben decreed: suche enterpryses fynyshed, and weyghtye matters concluded, that thys royalme hath flouryshed, all thynges haue luckely chaunced and oure enemyes on euerye parte subdued.

dued. This your lordshyppes wysdome vnder oure moost gracyous, noble, and soueraygne pryncē Kynge Henrye the eyght, by your swete and pleasaunte orations, haue opened and brought to passe suche thynges amonge other the honourable senatours, auncient fathers and worthye counsaylours of this royalme, whyche haue auaunced the common profyte, enlarged the marches of this lande, and brought vnder to thys daye all our enemyes. Wherfore the famous and worthye name of a capytayne in suche one as you be, rather then in any other is prayseable, in whome so many vertues be linked: whyche you haue gotten by paynefulnesse, paynefulnesse hath purchased you great renoume, renoume hath auaunced you to honour, honour hath made manye to folowe you, whych folowers with moost prayse, do treade the footesteppes of so auncient and wytfull a capytayne.

Furthermore yf we cal to remembraūce the Grekes and Troians, and searche whych of them deserued greatest prayse

in that longe battayle (amonge whome the feates of chiualrie were mooſt vſed) we ſhall ſone ſe that wyſdome had euer the hygheſt prayſe. For Ulyſſes bothe of Homere and other wryters, was moche more prayſed then eyther was Achilles or Aiax, whyche both in ſtrength paſſed all other. For howe many thinges were conueyed by Ulyſſes wyſedome, whych the puiſſaunce of Achilles, the ſtrength of Aiax, the ferſeneſſe of Diomede could neuer bryng to paſſe, ne ones attouche Who was ambaſſadoure to Achilles: Ulyſſes. Who plucked the Grekes from flyght: Ulyſſes. Who cauſed the death of Rheſus: Ulyſſes. Who was the deſtruction of Troye: Ulyſſes: whyche all were doone by wyſedome, and not by ſtrength of the bodye. For ſtrength ſtryketh, wyſdome refrayneth, ſtrength feareth no perils, wiſdome ſtayeth, ſtrēgth is raſche and foolehardye, wyſedome is bolde and puiſſaunt, whyche alone doth ſhape and worke all thynges paſt mans iudgement, for which cauſe in the frame of mans body ſhe is ſet in the hyeſt place

Wyſedome

Wysdome also is lykened to ỹ goddesse Pallas, whyche as well among the wil les of ỹ goddes as mens doynges doth decise all thynges. Thys ladye was of the grekes partye, whyche euer was at hande wyth Ulisses in all weyghty and dowbtefulle matters by whose helpe he waded thorough owte all ieoperdyes, whych mought haue ben noyouse to the whole armye of the grecians.

Thys one ladye doth guyde al magi-strates as well in tyme of warre, as of peace. Thys lady in all common weales doeth lyfte vp one, to ben as a shynynge starre, & a pure bright glasse, ỹ in one she maye shewe forth her hye gyftes, as ap peareth by one Annibal, whych by wys-dome dydde almoste caste downe the ro-mayne empyre, breke theyr force, & dar-ken the renoume of the noble Senators whych beyng lordes ouer all the worlde in strengthe coulde neuer be matched w̃ anye forayne prince, but wyth thys one Anniball whome wysedome dyd guyde. Whyche also dyd wel knowe that wyse dome woulde mayster strength.

Nowe

Nowe ryghte honorable lorde, none
vpryght reader can blame me, that wis-
dome is so set alofte, & enhaũced, which
so moche surmounteth strengthe, whan
greater renoume, is due to the polytike
counsaylour, then to the stronge man of
armes. Whyche thynge is daylye seen
in our warres, & in the noble capytayns
of thys realme, whose straũge sleightes
and feates of warre, yf any man wyl go
abowte to bringe togyther, and make a
booke therof: he shulde playnely shewe
that the youthe of Englande doth so flo
rysshe in warlye knoweleage that they
passe all other bothe Grekes & Romans
to thys daye. Thus whan the laude of
chyualdrye, doeth so clerelye shyne in a
wyse counsaylour: I shall desyre youre
lordeshyppe to take in good worth thys
my simple doynge, in whyche I haue
done my diligence to content your lorde
shyppe and satisfy the nobilitye and gẽ-
trye of Englande, as well in the termes
as the sentences, whome I do moste
hartelye wysshe, that thys translation
maye please, the whyche to reade theye
shall be

shall be the rather drawen, whan that thynge shalbe taught here in lessons, the which is shewed to be done in dede, in ỹ booke of Julius Frontinus, whyche is translated by the well learned Morison a man of swete and eloquent spekynge, so that the feates of war there done and tolde by hystories, doo proue these precepts of chyualdrye, for the most parte in euerye place. That booke is worthye to be red of all thē that be chyualdrous, and couette to wynne renoume in warfare, whych is wyth feate termes adourned, to the euerlyuyng prayse of the trā slatour. I se it tyme to make an end, lest my epistle waxe ouermoch, yet I wilbe bolde vnder your lordeshyppes licence, somthyng to wander from my fyrst matter, and to speake a lytle of the translatours of thys age, whych after my pore iudgement do marre and mistrame our englysshe tounge, through theyr termes vnnedefullye borowed of other languages. For lyke as the carpenter that goth abowte hys worke, doth occupye for the most parte hys owne instrumentes, and

hath

hath lytle nede to borowe of anye other craftesman: So I thynke that all translatours ought to vse the vsuall termes of our englysshe tounge, which of it selfe is ryche and plentyfull and not to breke wythout all iudgemente in to the boundes of the latyn tounge, to steale termes of it, as yf our englysshe tounge had not in hym selfe suffysaunce of woordes, to set fourth all our speakynges. But suche men as do vnaduisedly desyre other tōg termes, woulde be taken (to my indgement) as authours of our woordes, therby to enlarge our language (whyche rather they do make poore and barrayne) so that manye good mattyers be dusked and defaced, wyth theyr newe borowed ynkehorne termes, and the common people of Englande, do not vnderstand the wrytynges ne yet the speache of thē, for theyr tricke termes of theyr owne brayn shaped.

These men thinke all theyr owne doynges woorthye greatest prayse whan that but some of them be well done.

Yet

Yet lette no man thyncke, that I doo damne all vsuall termes borowed of other tounges, whan I doo well knowe that one tounge is interlaced with an other. But nowe to be shorte, I take them beste englyshe men, which folowe Chauter, and other olde wryters, in whyche studye the nobles and gentle men of Englande, are worthye to be praysed, whã they endeuoure to bryng agayne to his owne clennes oure englysshe tounge, & playnelye to speake wyth our owne termes, as our others dyd before vs, which men I coulde reherce by name, but that I shulde be thought to flatter. The dead I maye well prayse.

Wyate was a worthye floure of our tounge, as appereth by the mornefulle ballet made of hys death in Englysshe, whyche is mooste wyttye fyne and eloquent.

Nowe ones agayne ryght honorable lord, I must begge a litle pardõ to make an aunswere to some euylle speakers, whyche of nature enforced to dyspraysse

other

other mens doynges, wyll berke & rage agaynste thys myne enterpryse, whyche am thus bolde to take marters of warre in hande, whan that I am no warriour But let them bluster & spitte owte their poyson wordes: learned and witful mē do knowe, that phisitians and astronymers do come to theyr knowleage, more by great studye and readynge of bookes wyth them selfe, than by the teachynge of other menne: so I ryghte honorable lorde, chyfelye holpe by moche readynge of bookes and markynge of the same, & partlye by the helpe of them, that haue bene in warres, haue (as I truste) not gone farre amysse, as shall appere to the gentle reader, whom I desyre to report as he shall se. Thys sayde, I praye god shylde your lordshyppe frō al mischaūce and contynue your helth and honour to the comforte of poore suters, and preferment of them that be honeste and vertuouse.

In the moneth of Decembre,

1543.

Thomas Phayer.

Thy beſt is peace, but yf by extremitye,
Thou be enforced to fyght for thyne owne,
Learne here the ſcience and actes of chyualrye
Pollicies, & pꝛiuities, to many men vnknowen:
Wherby thyne enemyes may be ouerthꝛowen.
In ſuche a neceſſitie ſhalt thou neuer fynde
Suche an other treaſure: kepe it wel in mynde.

*REX INETERNVM
VIVE.

Faultes escaped in the printyng through ouermoche haste.

In the prologue, the fyrst page, lyne. 15. rede lawe wrythes for lawe wythes.
The. 2. page, the. 19. lyne, for that be worthye, reade many that be worthye.
The. 3. page, the last line, leaue out (and)
The. 11. padge, the. 13. lyne, read mothers for others.
The. 12. page, the. 3. lyne reade matters for marters.

In the fyrste Chapter. 2. padge, 4. lyne, leaue out (not) The. 3. padge, the, 5. lyne, reade trustynesse for trustye men. In the same padge. 21. lyne leaue out (hygh).
Chapter. 2. the. 7. lyne reade this for his.
Chap. 5. line. 10. reade lyghter for hygher
Chap. 7. lyne. 8. reade abode for abyde.
Chapter. 9. lyne. 10. reade behauyour.
Cha. 19. lyne. 5. reade agreued for agreed.
Cha. 21. lyne. 7. reade do not stray for not straye.
Chap. 24. lyne. 7. leaue out to.
Cha. 27. lyne. 2. reade not to be, for to be.
Cha. 30. lyne. 4. rede recount for to recoũt
Cha. 36. lyne. 4. rede argument for agrement.
Cha. 40. lyne. 1. reade this law for lawe,

the.17.lyne of the same chapter, read by manly for manly, leauyng out and in the same lyne.

Cha.45.lyne.10. reade euer for neuer.

Cha.50.lyne.6.reade do with spedynesse, for put in execution.

Chap.58.lyne.10. reade theyr voyage for voyage.

Chap.59.lyne.1. reade wyll gyue none, for wyl none.

Cha.61.lyne.1. reade vnwyllynglye for wyllyngly.

Chap.65.lyne.4.reade those for these, the seuenth lyne reade se for set.

Cha.67.for succesfed reade surcesfed.

Cha.72.lyne.1. reade braggeth for brynggeth.

Cha.74.lyne.4.reade connynge for commynge.

Chap.75.lyne.21. reade prouince for prouynge.

Cha.77.lyne.14.reade slayne for shame.

Chap.105.lyne.6.reade to constrayne, for constrayne.

Cha.109.lyne.11.reade name for men.

Cha.117.ꝑ last lyne rede badge for lodge.

Ch.124.line 13 rede binde them for bynde

Cha.142.lyne.1. reade for ꝑ moost parte,

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Cha.117.ꝑ last lyne rede badge for lodge.
Ch.124.line 13 rede binde them for bynde
Cha.142.lyne.1.reade for ꝑ mooste parte,

ly.9.rede they be brought,for be brought
Chap.143.lyne.5.rede whome for when.
Cha.144.line.19.for fynges rede fyngers
Cha.149.lyne.15.rede finguler for figuler
Cha.154.lyne.6.reade fhulde for do.
Cha.157.lyne.8.for cõmyng rede cõnyng.
Chap.158.lyne.8.reade laye for lye.
Cha.170.lyne.4.reade demeanour for demeanours.
Cha.194.lyne.5.reade wonne for ioyne.
Cha.196.lyne.5.rede diſcouer for to diſco.
Ch.1003.lyne.14 for cõmyng,rede cõning

¶ Faultes eſcaped in the ſeconde boke.

In the.36.Chapter, lyne.5.rede takynge of demeanes,for take demeanes.
Cha.38.lyne.3.reade woad for wood.
Cha.40. the laſt lyne ſaue one, rede continuaunce for countynaunce.
Cha.41.lyne.10.reade ſerche for ſeche.
Cha.46.lyne.4.reade foes for force.
Cha.47.lyne.7.for one rede vpon.
Cha.51.lyne.4. rede vnmmanned for vnmaymed. In ỹ title of.58.chap.for relyue rede helpe,lyne.3.ỹ ſame cha.rede weake for wean.
In the laſt chapter added of the tranſlatour,lyne.17. rede of nature,for of our nature,lyne.35.botye for both.

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Cha.170.lyne.4.reade demeanour for demeanours.
Cha.194.lyne.5.reade wonne for ioyne.
Cha.196.lyne.5.rede discouer for to disco.
Ch.1003.lyne.14 for cõmyng,rede cõning

¶ Faultes escaped in the seconde boke.

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In the last chapter added of the translatour,lyne.17. rede of nature,for of our nature,lyne.35.botye for both.

Efore that thou begyn to make battayle, it is nedefull to take aduyſement ones and agayne, whether the cauſe and begynnynge of thy warmakynge be honeſt. But yet that is not a ſuffycient cauſe to gyue battayle, except for thys purpoſe thou do it, to lyue afterwarde peaceable, and in quyete, not wyllynge to ſowe and ſtere vp battayl after battayle, the which thynge is both foolyſhe and cruell.

But yf thyne enemye can ſatiſfy and contente the by ſorowfulnes, or els, otherwyſe it were wycked, cruell, and rather beaſtly than manlye, to make battayle agaynſte hym, eyther for the vayne deſyre to beare rule, or for the couetouſneſſe of rychelle. And ſo to deſtroye hym by the ſwearde, whome gentle wordes wolde haue banquyſhed. When I ſpeake of thys ſorowfulneſſe, I meane that which is vnfayned and wythout any doubt or ieopardy, that ſuche wronges vnpuniſhed, ſhulde entiſe thyne enemye, to offre ſemblable trouble, and occations of diſpleaſure. For thē quycky and ſharply punyſhment is to be done.

And if thou abyde any hurte through his wrongfulnesse, by and by redresse it, and the people shall therby well iudge and esteme the. But yf thou be not afrayde that some prince either stronger or egall in power, will make battayle agaynst the (my counsayle is) fyrst to rayse and styre vp warre agaynst hym: bycause the greater boldnesse is thought to be in hym that begynneth, then in hym whyche defendeth the assaultes of hys enemyes. As to leade out thy souldyours fyrst after winter, thā to set them in aray, and so to set vpō thyne enemyes, is verye profytable. By whych meanes, thou shalt bryng thyne enemies to quyet, and repentaunce, and eftsones shalt purchase peace, whych thou hast desyred. And so thy feare and dread is a iust occation, fyrste to gyue battayle, and the same to put awaye and ende.

But one thynge do not forget, although thou haue a iust occation, to begynne the fray, diligently to forsee what shalbe the ende. For euery man maye begynne war, but to cease and haue an ende standeth in the conquerour his hande Wherfore dyligentlye knowe thyne owne power, and

therwith the ſtrength of thyne enemies
before thou begynne battayle. Knowe
alſo thy frendes, and learne who be thy
foes, and howe greate theyr puiſsaunce
is. Alſo attempte and proue theyr truſty
men in other thynges, leaſte when thou
arte troubled in thy warres, ſodeynlye
wyth all theyr force and violence, they
come vpon the, and ſo do vnto the moche
hynderaunce. And briefelye thynke that
all men may be thy frendes, and that the
ſame maye be thyne enemyes, and what
is to be done yf thys or that do chaunce.
Remembre alſo all thynges in thy mind
whyche may happen in ſo doubtful bat-
tayle and daungerfull warres.

Moreouer ꝓpare & make ready all thin-
ges neceſſary for battayle (ſo ẏ thyne ene
mies be not priuye to the ſame) before ẏ
byd battayl. For lõg ꝓparaũce bryngeth
redy victorie, & ſo hygh charges and all
other thinges neceſſary ar to be cõſidred
For if thou be lyke to haue ẏ vpperhand,
then to want money & treaſure, to be wi-
out inſtrumẽtes of war, & to lack puiſſõ
is ẏ redy way to purchaſe ſhame & ſclaũ
der, after ſo haſty & vnaduiſed enterprize

Wherfore truly it folowyth, and euen ſo chaunceth, that he whiche raſhlye begynneth battayle, ſone ſhall repent: and after wyth all humbleneſſe, ſhall deſyre peace, not without his greate daunger, and notable reproche.

¶ To chooſe the capitayne.

2 Chooſe ſuch one to be captane of thyne Armye whyche is borne of a noble and valyaunte ſtocke, and fearyng nothynge more then ſhame and reproche, and is woute all euyll doynges. For he that ſhall rule other, conuenient it is that he know to maſter hym ſelfe. For where affection ſurmounteth, reaſō is vndertroden and gyueth place, without which men be mē apparent, and not in dede. And therew comely it is, the captayne not to be defamed wyth lecherye and couetouſneſſe, which be vyces chefelye to be eſchued & abandoned. For theſe two deteſtable vyces bryng forth diuers effecteis. Lechery forſoth doth ſhame the good fame of the capitaynes, to runne in diſdayne of frēde and foe, and therwith cauſeth the whole Armye, (whiche is moche worſe) to folowe hys fleſhlye vnclenneſſe, throughe

whych the whole Armye wyth the captayne is vnapte to battayle, and faynte strengthed. And when they doo applye suche wanton pleasures, and gyue them to Uenus dalíaũce, then they forsake the feates of Armes, and despyce the manlye wrestlynges of Mars. For hys goddas doth destroy the courage of ỹ minde and wasteth the strength of the bodye, & brefely where luxurye raygneth, no vertue wyll appeare. Suche enimitie, suche hatefull spyte is betwyxt vertue and vncleane lecherie, that no loueday, no hope of peace is at any tyme amonge them.

But that captayne which is couetous causeth hys souldyours, whyche bene of them selues bolde and ready, agaynst al daungers, to gyue backe, loth & straũge, to put them in ieopardye, or go vpõ any perylles, eyther for the prayse of theyr capitayne, (whyche is hatefull for hys nygardnesse) or els to get the victory when they perceyue theyr labour to be spente in bayne, trustyng no rewarde for theyr paynes and daungerfull attemptes.

But what shall it nede to speake of all, when these two vyces be the spryngwel

and heed of al myſchefe. Moreouer chofe the ſuche a capitayne whyche is luckye. For ſome be ſo vnhappye throughe vnkynde fortune, that theyr chaunce is to be vanquyſſhed, althoughe they haue a great nombre of ſouldyours, and power of men. Therfore luckyneſſe is to be wiſſhed in a good capitayne, whiche frō hys youth hath ben in warfare, vnder a good capitayne, and prayſed for kepynge hys araye, alwayes hyghly taken and regarded of the whole Army. The which alſo hath ſhewed many tokens of wyttyneſſe and in the feactes of Armes preſt and redye to trye maſtryes, felowlyke in apparell, whoſe aſſayres haue alwayes bene guyded by reaſon, whyche hath not alſo aſſayed any thynges raſhly. I was purpoſed to haue wrytten more of thoffyce of a capitayne, but at large in the other two bookes I am mynded to wryte therof. And in many Chapters enſuynge, I wyll note and ſhewe the maners and cōdycyons of capitaynes.

3. ¶ Of ſufferaunce in warre.

Manye thynges are to be ſuffered in warre, which were to be loked on, in the pleaſaunt

pleasaunt tyme of peace. For it is not expedient out of hande to reuenge all iniuryes and displeasures. But to differ the punyshment to the ende of the battayle, dissemblyng suche iniurious dedes, lest at that tyme we purchase so many our enemyes, ꝑ we be not able to beare theyr malyce and force. For it is a lyght thyng to styrre vp battayl, but to leaue of with glorye and renoume, is an harde thyng. And lytle sparkes (whych nothynge we regarde) somtyme kendle a great fyre.

¶ Of the stoute and valiaunt mynde of the captayne. 4.

A prouidēt capitayne and expert in the knowledge of warre, wyll neuer rest neyther in hys victorye ne yet subdued, but in all states, wyll beare hym selfe moost stoutly, by whych meanes his enemyes shall dreade hym, whether he haue ꝑ vpper hande, or vanquished, and shal think hym both there and away, to worke and imagine theyr discomfiture. Wherby it shall chaunce, suche a valiaunt captayne eyther to purchase honest couenauntes, of peace, or elles prayseable victoryes of hys enemyes.

¶ Of the ſiege and aſſaulte of a cytye.

All cyties and townes for the mooſte parte be more wynable on the one ſyde, then on the other. Wherfore cauſe all ỹ trompettes to blowe vp on ỹ ſide which is better defenced, whereby thyne enemyes called vp, and feared by the noyſe of the trompettes, maye runne thyther, leauyng the other ſyde of the citie which is vndefenced, and ſo the aſſaulte ſhal be the hygher. For vndoubtedly wyth lytle ſlaughter we may ſcale and clymbe vpō the walles, where fewe be leafte to defende, and leeſt hede is taken. Alſo a lytle nombre, is deſpyſed of many, & ſhortly ouercomen. But thyne enemyes gladly wyll leaue the parte defenced, yf that they ſe the weaker and vndefenced parte to be aſſaulted. Wherfore my counſayle is to take the ſtrongeſt parte of thyne armye and aſſaulte the ſyde of the cytye defenced, and ſo leeſt doubted, although ỹ captayne maye vſe his owne aduyſe according to the ſituation of the place, and nombre of hys enemyes.

¶ Of a great army of our enemies

When

When the nombre of thyne enemyes 6.
is great, then my aduyse is, to encrease thyne Armye, with maryners and shypmen: yf thy Nauye be nere at hande, or els shortly to pike some newe bande and garison of men, to match thyne enemies both in power & nõbre of soldyours. For many ben a greate feare to fewe, and the multitude of enemies, wil dismay a litle armye. But when sodeynly they shall se thyne Armye renewed, and well furnysshed, theyr braggyng courage shall fall, and they wyll not matche ne auaunce forwarde, wyth suche gladnesse, as they wolde haue done, yf thy nombre had contynued the same: Wherfore an experte capitayne wyll remembre, (sparyng for no costes) sodeynlye and at a tryse, to renue hys Armye. Wherby he may be eyther egall, or exceade hys ennemyes in strength and nombre of souldyours.

¶ Of the reproche of the capitayne that houseth his Armye in the somer tyme. 7

That capytayne is worthye greate blame and sclaundre, which lodgeth hys Armye in houses in somer tyme, when ỹ

fea-

feates of Armes and martiall assayers, are chefely to be put in vre. And what other thyng is it (I sweare by Hercules) when your soldyours take vp theyr lodgyng and abyde in wynter tyme, then to make them vnmete to battayle, and vnsufferable of all labour. Therfore let the capitayne diligentlye prouyde, that hys Armye do not sloudge in slouthfull ydlenesse, but wonte them selues to dayly labour, wherby they shal take all the tyme of warfare, to be a game and spoꝛte. Foꝛ what is moꝛe then custome, whych causeth al intollerable and harde paynes, to seme lyght, easye and gentle.

8. ¶ To spye and searche a place to fight in

The capitayne, befoꝛe that he ioyne in battayle, oꝛ fall in handegrypes wyth hys enemyes, ought to viewe wyth hys eyes (whyche be sure and faythfull iudges) the place where the fyght shalbe, & therby shoꝛtly he shall perceyue, what is profytable foꝛ hym, and what no, & how to set his men in aray, and oꝛdꝛe his battayle, and how to woꝛke by pollicye and craft, & whether hys enemyes can woꝛke any wyles oꝛ craftye sleyghtes agaynst hym.

hym. But a wyse captayne wyll remembre, that he do not cary hys hooste to the felde, before that hys spyes and scoute watches haue surelye knowen, that hys enemyes do not lye in wayte, but that all thynges be sure and faulke.

¶ Of the apparell of the capitayne. .9

The capitayne ought to be felowlyke in hys garmentes, wherby he shall purchase the fauour of the cõmons. And declare hys humblenesse, auoydynge the name of arrogancie. But in his vertues let hym surmount all other. For it becõmeth hym that coueyteth to beare rule, euen as he is hygher in dignitie and honour, so to blemysche all other wyth hys vertues & gentle behauyou. Otherwyse he is vnworthy to be called a capitayne whych is more blameworthye then his souldiours, and whose doinges be moch worse.

¶ To knowe the maner and cõdicios of thyne enemies before thou make battayl 10

To fyght hande to hande wt thyne enemies, except thou surely know theyr maners before is very daungerfull: & great damage therby may chaũce to thy army.

For

For a captayne experte in the knowlege of warre wyll neuer make battayle, before he knowe the maners of hys enemies. For howe manye dyuerse countryes there be, so many dyuerse sortes of fyghtyng there be. And agaynste euerychone dyuerselye we must set our arraye, and bestowe our strokes. And so a prudēt capitayne wyll aduyse and hede wyth hym selfe, the harneys, horsemen, and fotemē of hys enemyes, and besyde that wyl reckon wyth hym selfe what is to be done, and what thynges ben expedient.

¶ Of the Germaynes and Frenchemen.

xi. ¶ When thou hast battayle wyth the Germaynes and Frenchemen, prolonge the tyme, before thou come to handestrypes. For theyr bodyes be nesshe, and vnpaynefull, & by hungre and thyrst moche weakened, that for werynesse, they can neyther stryke other men, ne yet defende themselues. And thus whom by strēgth thou canst not ouercome, by pollicye and crafte, thou shalte subdue. And by thys sleygth, the soldyours of the East parte shall banquyshe and destroye, the Itali-

ous

ous men, both strong and better harnes-
sed then they be.

¶ Of sedicion to be appeased amonge an Armye. 12.

When any trouble or sedicion is in thyne Armye, the captayne ought wyth gētle and fayre wordes to mitigate and aswage the fierce hertes of the soldiours And when the contention is ones appeased, to punysh the authours of that factious sedicion, or els to sēde them on some busynesse, that the correction of a fewe, maye be an example to manye, wherby (other therby feared) wyll not be bolde to styrre vp and nourysh suche tumultuous sedicion, lest they haue lyke punysh-
ment.

¶ Howe to viewe the Armye of thyne enemyes. 13.

A capitayne whiche wolde viewe the campe of hys enemyes, must feyne and desyre peace. And vnder that pretence, sende some of hys souldyours experte in warres, to searche and aduise the campe of hys enemyes, the wayes to theyr pauylyons, and in what parte euery capitayne doth lodge, and howe greate theyr

power

power is. Then by nyght he maye sette vpon them, and easely gyue a noble victorye. For it is a lyght thynge to put to flyght and slee men vnwares, and halfe deed in wyne and slepe.

14 ¶ Of peace to be preferred before battayl

A wyse captayne wyll not forsake any couenauntes and conditions of peace whych maye turne to hys honoure and profyte, although the mastrye be in hys handes. Lest fortune which now appeareth gentle and fauourable, hereafter shewe her selfe vnkynde and straunge, & he ẏ euẽ now reioyseth as victour, shortly after vanquished, may wayle & sorow

15. ¶ Of trompettes and other clamours in an hoste.

When the hoste of thyne enemyes is nere, good it is, to cõmaunde al the kewellers to buylde theyr fyres, the trõpets blowe vp alarum, al the host to make an outcrye, and brefelye to fyll heauen and earth wyth the noyse and sounde of trõpettes, and make all on a roze, wherwith thyne enemyes may be afrayed, & thy frẽdes gladdened, takyng exãple of Põpeiꝰ, ẏ through ignorannce, warned al his

soldiours prvily to go wout any brute or noyse makyng: which thyng was the destruction of all hys hoste.

¶ Of the rerewarde. 16.

Let the capitayne set in the last warde good & strong men. For yf that parte be kept hole aud saulfe, ỳ rest of the Armye may be defended: yea oftentymes the victorie by that warde, is atcheued & gottē bycause when other wardes do faynt & waxe feble in fyghtynge, this fresh & desyrous to graple wỳ their enemies, fiersely wyll fyght, and as souldiours pyked out of ỳ whole hoste, wyll renewe ỳ battayl more gredely, then the other before them, & be like to ouercom their enemies wcried wỳ longe trauayl & cōtinuaūce of fyght. ¶ Of great cyties. 17.

Great, ryche and welthy cities cā not stande long among them selues in peace except they haue some outwarde enemyes. Wherfore suche cities whyche be enryched wyth greate lordshyppes, and haue yerely newe maiestrates, do prvyde to haue some outwarde enemyes, leste in longe reste and ydlenesse, they growe to great, rychesse and houge possessyons:

where

wherof all thynges that bene yll yssue and spryng. When Carthage dyd withstande the people of Rome, then thempyre dyd florysshe. But when that Carthage was onerthrowen, Rome wythered, and fell to al kynde of noughtye lyuynge. Wherfore what profyte is in outwarde feare, the thinge doth shewe hymselfe.

18. ¶ In campyng thyne Armye what is to be done.

When the campe is measured, the capitayne ought to kepe the stronger parte of hys men in harneys, vntyl all the fortresses and fences be fynyshed. For it happeneth oftentymes, when thyne Armye disordrely doeth wandre, in measurynge of the campe, thā to be ouercome of their enemyes, and vtterlye destroyed. For what greate mastrye is it for an hooste harnessed and prepared to fyght, to encountre wyth thy men which ben vnharnessed, and bent to the measuryng of the campe, and to chase them awaye, wyth moost bloodslaughter. The which thyng euydentlye doeth appeare by the slaughter of the Trentes done by ꝑ Uenetians

¶ To kepe thy frendes. 19.

When the capytayne neadye and poore can not be benefictall, and gyue rewardes to hys frendes, yet at the leest let hym take punyshment of theyr aduersaryes, wyth whome they bene agreed, for that shall be a greate example and paterne, that other wyll abyde faythfull and frendly, and ther wyth wyll gladly wythstande the wronges of hys enemyes.

¶ Of quyckneſſe in battayle. 20

Castels and cytyes, with fortresses wel defenced, ben oftentymes cast downe to ỹ grounde by spedy quyckneſſe. Wherfore after rype and quycke counsayle takynge, it is profytable to vse all spedyneſſe. For what goodneſſe doeth ensue of forwardneſſe, experience doth shewe, and men may playnly se.

¶ Of the arraye to be kepte. 21.

The nereſt way to atchyue ỹ victory is to kepe the souldiours in array: wherfore the capitayne must warne his souldiours, vnder great penalties, not to breake theyr arraye, chefely when we make battayle agaynſt the eaſt country souldyours. Who dylygently kepe theyr arraye, & not straye

out of ordre, yf they be guyded by some expert warryour, and others that be practysed in such warly feates. For such men wyll be no lesse carefull to loke on all thinges, then the graunde capitaynes, & wyll recouer of fresh the battayle agayne, bringynge into arraye the whole hoste, sparpled and disseuered abrode.

¶ Of a lytle multitude in a cytye.

22 Where a lytle bande and company of men is in the cytye, my counsayle is, to cõpasse and inuironne them about garlandwyse, and holde them in fyght both daye and nyght, incessauntly besiegyng them, that throughe werynesse, they shall be enforced to gyue vp. For who is so lustye & stronge, that long can lyue without quiete and rest, yea that is able to stande in fyght. Wherfore the capitaynes in the assiege of cyties, must aduysedlye searche, what company of men be wythin the cytie, and whether they ben able to defende the cytye, daye and nyght, yf he purpose to banquyth them.

¶ Of the hope and trust of sedicion.

Where

When there is any semblaūce or hope of any sedicion to be in that cytye, whych we purpose to beliege, my counsayl is, to leaue of and differ thassaulte for a tyme. For in suche sedicion the cytye is lyke to be taken, wyth lytle labour, and greate prayse. Therfore lette the capitayne be watchfull, to foresee euery occation, leste by hys vnwaryneste, some mischaunce & damage do ensue, euer obseruynge thys, not at any tyme to gyue battayle, yf any hope or lykelyhode be, that wrathfull sedicion is rysen amonge the cytizins. 23

What is to be done in tyme of peace. 24

When the warres do surceasse, suffre not thy souldiours, to dispende theyr lyfe in ydleneste, but occupy them in husbandrye, that by the profyte and fructe therof, thou mayest both nourysh thyne army wyth wages and vytayles, and by suche exercyse, to kepe theyr bodyes strong and durable. Also it shal not be vnprofytable at suche tyme to ouercome and fence the cytyes with trenches and bulworkes.

Of fayned rumours.

25 Fayned rumours in tyme of battayle, bene both profytable and lykewyse hurtfull. For whych cause a capitayne, whych forecasteth manye thynges, wyll cause false tales and vayne rumours to be spar pled abrode, in the stede and place of true tydynges: alwell amonge hys enemyes, as in hys Armye. For experyence doeth teache, fayned rumours sometyme to do moche profyte.

26. ¶ Of the offyce of the capitayne.

Let neuer the capitayne commaunde any greater thynge, then he hym selfe first wyll take in hande. But let hym at thys tyme shewe hym selfe afrayed, & at other tymes dissemble, to gyue backe and flye. Through which sleygth the victory doth chaunce.

27 ¶ To knowe whether a cytie is thy frende or no.

When the capitayne doth suspect any cytye to be hys frende (me counsayle is) to desyre and aske some great request, which wolde not be graunted, but of a frendlye cytye. And by thys meane he shal playnly knowe theyre mynde and herte towarde hym. And thys counsayle shall so turne to

hys

hys aduauntage and greate profyte.

¶ Of confidence and assured hope in battayle. 28

Although the warres be very greate, yet must not the capitayne dispayre. For the chaunce of battayle is doubtfull and vncertayne, whose ende doth not answer to the begynnynge. And in that tyme lady fortune, nowe doth shewe her selfe gētle and bonaire, now cruell and churlish, sometyme fauourynge thys parte, efte that parte, after her owne pleasure.

¶ Of the situacion of the cytie to be searched and knowen by the capitayne hym selfe. 29

A capitayne ought to beholde with his owne eyes the situacion of the place, before he come with hys hoste to besiege it, or make any assault therto. For more ease it is to assaulte the cytye on one part, then on an other. Wherfore a witty capitayne wyll viewe and marke the situacion in euerye parte, and thereby knowe whyche parte of the cytye maye moost easelye be besieged.

¶ Of lybertie to be kept and encreased of all men. 30.

A wyse capitayne wyll not chaunge the libertie of townes whych he hath subdued, but rather encrease and kepe them saulfe. For nothynge there is, that soner shall entyse and allure the captyues, to loue the, and forget theyr olde lorde, then to se theyr libertyes and pryuyleges vntouched, in whych men set all theyr felicitye, and for whyche no reasonable man wolde forsake to suffre moofte cruell and fearefull death.

31. ¶ Of the doubtfull cõmyng of thyne enemyes.

When we be in doubt, on what partie our enemyes wyll set vpon vs, and so we knowe not howe to ordre our armie, and sette our arraye, beft it is to set our araye fourfquare. For in that fleyght is mooft fauftye and fyckernefle, and fo no parte fhalbe vndefenced, wherby oure enemies fhalbe difceyued, which thought to haue commen vpon vs on the backe fyde. By which pollicie eyther our enemies fhalbe put to flyght, or at the leeft thyne armye fhalbe faulfe and harmeleffe.

32. ¶ When the arraye of thyne enemyes is troubled and out of ordre.

when

When the arraye of thyne enemyes is broken, and they in great feare, the capytayne muſt purſue with hys mooſt valyaũt warryours, before they recouer theyr ſelues, and be delyuered from that feare. For yf they take herte agayne, harde it ſhalbe wythout a great nombre and puiſſaunce of men to vanquyſh them.

How to make thyne armye ſtronge and luſtye. 33.

Kepe thyne armye in rough and mooſtayne places, to make theyr bodyes ſtyffe and ſtrong. For pleaſaũt places, do cauſe weakeneſſe: wherfore ſouldyours whether they be ſpringalles, or auncient warryours, that longe haue ſludged in ydleneſſe, neades muſt be exercyſed in rough places, that their bodies may be ſtrong & more durable, throughe theyr exercyſe in ſuche rough and hyllye places. For accordyng to theyr exercyſe, ſo ſhall they be in ſtrength and valyauntneſſe. And this is the onely meane to make our army ſtrõg and luſtye. The capitayne may ſomtyme for theyr exercyſe, deuyde his ſouldyours and ordre them in forme and lykeneſſe of a battayle.

But he muſt beware of bloodſheddyng, leſt ſome diſcorde and quarellyng, therof do ryſe, whyche is the deſtruction of an hole hoſte.

34. ¶ A policie to be vſed when thy men do forſake the.

Yf any company of thy ſouldyours, of any euyll mynde and wycked purpoſe, do forſake the, and goo to thyne enemyes, in tyme of battayle, to the entent that other of thy hoſt be not amaſed wyth theyr ſodeyne departure: The capitayne muſt publyſh and noyſe, that thyng to be done by hys aduyſe and counſayle. Therby to delyuer hys cõpany out of feare, and make them more redye to fyght, truſtynge the departure of theyr felowes aduyſedly to be done.

35. ¶ To ſearche and boulte out the counſayle of thyne enemyes.

Sende thoſe that be wyttye, and therwyth experte warryours, whiche vnder colour that they haue forſaken theyr company maye ſpye and ſearche all the doinges, endeuours, and counſayl of thyne enemyes, and the ſame to recounte to the capi-

capitayne, whych after that all thynge is delated, and discussed, wyth the wyttyer sorte of his souldiours wyth hastye and quycke expedition wyll folowe the same.

¶ Of them that be besieged. 36.

They that be besieged, and set aboute wyth theyr enemyes, that they can not yssue out of the place where they be, must shewe some token and agrement, ỹ they haue plentye of bytayles, and other thinges necessary, to contynue thassaulte. Wherby theyr enemies hauyng no hope to wynne the cytye, maye leaue of and retyre homewarde. For by this pollicy and sleyght many haue ben disceyued.

¶ What is to be done when two hostes do vexe and pursue the. 37.

Yf thyne enemye haue two Armyes of men, and thou also other two, to wyth stande his force (my counsayle is) to pyke the chefest men that thou hast of the one partie of thyne armye, and then wyth al spede to set vpon the one hoofte of thyne enemyes, before they bothe come & ioyne togyther. By this pollicye Hasdrubal of Carthage was lost wyth all his hole host yea then Carthage was destroyed for euer,

uer. And the Romaynes empyre dyd flo-
ryſh and ſtande.

38. ¶ A craſte and pollicye to
take a cytye.

Yf thou be not able to take the cytie by ſtrength, and the ſiege ſemeth longe (my counſayl is) to departe for a tyme, & ſtray this waye and that waye, ſomtyme nye, and ſomtyme aloofe. And then ſodeynly come vppon them. For by ſuche ofte ſhyftyng and remouyng of thyne army, thou ſhalt diſmay them, and ſo to take the citie

¶ A place to encreaſe thyne armye
39 wythout great charges.

Yf when thou art farre from thy coũtrye, thou muſt ſet forth mo men, my coũſayle is to call togyther all the moſt worſhypfull and rycheſt citezins, thereaboute dwellynge, and commaunde them bothe well horſed and harneſſed, to be ready at a certayne daye. And when all ſhalbe aſſẽbled, wyll them to prepare them ſelues readye, or elles to appoynt ſome in theyr ſtede, whych are ſtronge and luſty. Thys pollicie Scipio Africanus vſed, when he made moſt cruell battayle agaynſt Carthage.

Of

¶ Of an holsome lawe to be made in the citie. 40.

Establysh and ordeyne lawe in the cytye, that the capitayne shalbe beheeded, and lose hys polle, yf hys armye be ouercomen. So eyther shall he wynne the victorye, or els valyauntly fyghtynge shall dye, deseruyng immortall prayse. Also he wyll be more carefull to foresee all thynges, then yf no suche lawe hadde bene decreed, ne yet wyll he suffre hys armye ydelly to sludge, but he wyll kepe them occupyed in daylye exercise, oftentymes admonyshyng them to remembre theyr coũtrye lawe, whyche is eyther to kylle, or to be kylled: to slee or to be slayne, therwyth warnynge them, nothynge to be more prayseworthy, in a good warryour, then manlye fyghtynge and for to obtaynethe victorie fearynge not to dye. 41

¶ Of excesse to be eschued.

Excesse in apparel, meate and drynke doth make feble the vertue of thy mynde and causeth the strength of the bodye to decaye. Wherfore wyse men haue purposed, to flye mistemperaunce, as a pestiterous and deedly disease.

¶ Of wantonnesse, to be cast of in wealth.

42. Let not the capitayne be wanton and proude in good chaunce and luckynesse, but rather beware and remẽbre, that in suche luckynesse men falle to ryot, to their great reproche, and the vtter damage of ỹ whole hoste. Therfore lette not the capytayne swell and waxe proude in happynesse, ne yet yelde and be discouraged in aduersitie but for ỹ time in both fortunes kepe a ꝛe gall & vniforme state of mynde.

¶ To throwe downe villages and casteis vndefenced.

43 In countryes be many vyllages and castelles, whyche be not defenced at all. Wherfore my counsayl is, to throwe thẽ downe, and sette them on fyre, that thyne enemyes may haue there no vytayles, ne other thynges necessary, to succour themselues and theyr hostes. Fyrste, yf we do leaue them standynge, we gyue to our enemyes a greate occation to trouble vs, by warre. Also it is expedyent to waste all the fodder, and corrupte the fountaynes of waters (yf there be many) so that theyr commynge towarde vs, shall be to

theyr

theyr great charges and anoyaūce to the whole armye. For a garison of men, cannot longe soiourne and tary in one countrye wythoute vytayles, and other thynges necessary for theyr lyuyng.

¶ How to purchase frendes, and to kepe the same. 44.

Euerye wyttye capitayne ought earnestly to trauayle, to labour, fyrst to gette frendes, and longe to retayne the same. For by frendes realmes be mayntayned and preserued, and great succour stādeth in them, yf they be true. Suche vertue & force is in frendshyppe, which is the only nourysher of mankynde, and releue of sorowe. Wherfore worse it is for a capytayne, to be wythoute frendes, then to lacke treasure.

¶ To abyde siege. 45.

All thynges (yea, be they neuer so greuous) are to be suffered in a sore siege before we yelde our selues to our enemyes. For nothyng is so prayse worthy in men, as vnfayned fayth, the whyche onely being defyled, what is in those men prayseable? Wherfore honest it is, for thē that are besieged, to kepe theyr foretresses, to

thende

the ende and extremitie of theyr lyues, & neuer to put theyr bodyes to moost harde paynes. For fortune manye tymes doeth lyft vp men vnwares. Therfore do they abyde in one myn.de and fayth, that be be ſieged, and gyue theyr bodyes for the faulfetie of theyr lorde. For a valyaunte man can do nothyng more worthy euerlaſtyng renoume: then to fynifhe hys lyfe by kepyng his fayth, and boundē dutye.

¶ when it is mete to fyght by eruption.

46

It happeneth oftentymes for ẏ greate aſſaulte of our enemyes, to appoynt our ſelues ſodeynly to burſt out. In whyche caſe, let euery valyaunt capitayne knowe ẏ it is not good to fight by eruptiō, but in extreme nede. For ẏ kynde of fyght is to be refuſed, but in great ieopardy & at low downefall, and when no hope is leaft to defende our tentes: or when our fouldyours be whole weryed in battayle. The ſame thyng is to be marked in thaſſault of cytyes.

¶ To enterclude the paſſage of our enemyes by fyre.

47

Fyre

Fyre is a great ſuccour and ayde to an hoſte. For when our enemyes ben at hād that wythout great daunger we can not leaue the tentes (my counſayle is) to conueye woodde betwene both the hooſtes, and to ſette it on fyre, and then wyth all haſte to departe into ſome other places, better defenced. For the flame and ſmoke wyll let the proſpecte and foreſeinge of our enemyes, that they can not ſykerlye purſue and folowe vs: wherfore before that the fyre be vtterly quenched, the capitayne maye haue ſpace to goo farre of, wyth hys Armye.

A pollicie to ſtoppe the flying of thyne enemyes. 48.

When thyne enemyes do faſter flye, then thou canſt well folowe wyth thyne Armye, then ſende forth thy horſemen, to let theyr flyght, whych may ſnatch vp and trouble the laſte warde, vntyll the fotemen ſhall approche. For then the battayle more ſykerly and egallye, ſhall be foughten and tryed on bothe ſydes, and the victorie more eaſelye ſhall be gotten, withoute greate loſſe and ſlaughter of men.

Howe

49

How siege is to be layed to cytyes and castels, and of them that be besieged.

My counsayle is, when thou doest besiege any cytye or castell, to caste fyrste a trenche, then bulworkes, and aboue that buylde many turrettes, that no man can come out of the cyty, ne yet any man may haue free passage into the cytie.

Otherwayes you shall neuer take any cytye or castell whych is wel fortifyed. For elles they maye cal vnto them outwarde ayde and succour, and therwith may certifye and admonysh theyr lordes and princes, in what estate they be, what bytayles be in the cytye, and howe longe they maye abyde and contynue thassaulte.

And yf thyne enemyes obstynatlye do defende the cytye, my counsayle is, when the cytye is ones taken eyther by sleygth or rendrebp, cutte of the handes of them that kepte the citye, so toughly that theyr greuous punyshment, maye be an example to other, not so frowardlye to stande in theyr owne conceyte, and contynue theyr assaultes.

¶ To auoyde and escape traynes. 50.

Traynes and wyles maye be eschued aswell by chaungynge of the place, as by appoyntynge of capitaynes. For in tyme of rest men haue opportunitie, to inuente wycked counsayle, and the same immedyatly to put in execution.

¶ Of hostages and pledges rather to be taken, then to fyght in open battayle. 51.

Better it is, and more for thy saulfegarde, to take hostages of noble mē, and so to haue thyne enemyes to yelde, and rendre vp all theyr landes, then in cruell fyght to proue the doubtfull chaunce of battayle: whych oftentymes is varyable and wauering, and causeth them to haue the vpper hande, whome ye wolde haue iudged, to haue bene subdued. And then tyme it is, to take hede, whē that fortune doeth flatter vs. For she is false and deceytfull. Wherfore let vs folowe this cōmune saying. Assured peace is worthy to be preferred, before doubtfull and hoped victorye.

¶ To stoppe our hauen.

§ 2. yf thou wylt stoppe an hauen (my coū sayle is) to fyll a shyppe full of greate stones, and then to drowne the same shyp, ouerthwarte in the hauen: wherby other shyppes can not well arryue at anye stounde, ne yet go out of the hauen.

§ 3. ¶ To make hydde and false dytches to betray thyne enemyes.

They that couete to conueye & leade theyr enemyes into couerte and hyd dytches, my counsayle is, to sette a bande of men nye vnto them in harneys, whyche softely and pryuily maye conuey themselues into dytches.

§ 4. ¶ To passe ouer a water with an Armye.

yf thou wylt passe ouer a water, that can not be waded, my coūsayl is, to dryue an houge nombre of cattel into the vpper parte of the streame, by whyche meane, the streame beneth wyl ronne more gently and styll, and thyne armye maye haue the more free passage.

§ 5. ¶ To knowe yf thyne enemyes be afrayed.

yf we perceyue the stomakes of our enemyes to quayle and waxe faynte, it is good, gredelye to pursue them, that we maye eyther put them to flyght, or elles vtterly slee thē before they recouer theyr strength. It is the office of an experte warryour to knowe when hys enemyes ben afrayed. But the better to learne the same, take this one lesson of me. yf thyne enemyes ofte chaunge and pytche theyr tentes, it is a lygne and token of feare. Wherfore a wyse capitaynes parte, is to assayle them wyth bikerynges and rodes to knowe yf they dissemble, or els wolde trayne vs in theyr trappes.

¶ To constrayne thyne enemyes to fyght in open battayle, and come to hande strypes.

yf thou wylte constrayne thyne enemyes, to stande in fyght agaynste the, although the place be vnegal and inconuenyent, my counsayle is, to conueye thyne armye to some of theyr cytyes or townes And so either wil they suffre to take their cytye, or els they wyl fyght with the, and deale strypes.

57 ¶ A pollicye to stye.

Best it is for an host, that purposeth to stye, to kyndle and buylde many fyres, to fasten manye helmettes, on stakes in the toppe of theyr tentes. And thus thyne enemies being scorned, and brought into a doubte, thou mayest conuey thyne armie far of, before that it be knowen whether thou be in thy tentes, or fledde awaye.

58. ¶ When thyne enemyes snatche vp and destroye the last warde.

When thy men be snatched and discõfyted in the last warde, my counsayle is, to sette there the strongest men and best warryours. Otherwyse thyne army shal haue moche harme, throughe the destruction of that warde. Also that warde is not able to withstande the force of thyne enemyes, except it be somtyme renued w good warryours. And by this meane thy hoste maye frely passe on voyage.

59. ¶ Of the notable falsehode of the barbarous people.

A circumspect capitayne wyll none affiaunce or trust to the cruel barbarous aliaũtes. For many due prokes of antiquitye, do playnly shewe, not without experyence

ryence of the same, that no fayth ne loyal tie is in them. Whych examples I wyll ouerskyppe, desyryng to be shorte. They be men in shappe, but brutall beastes in fearcenesse and crueltye, subtyl, and craftye, desyrous and thyrstyng mans blood in that one thynge, passynge all kynde of wylde and sauage beastes. Wherfore a wyse capitayne wyll beware of theyr disloyaltie, and villanye, and wyll thynke him selfe neuer in saulfegarde, from their falsehode and engynnes. I speake of the that be not Chrystians.

¶ When fewe must make battayle wyth many. 60.

Best it is for a lytle hoste, whych by necessitye must fyght and make battayle w a stronger Armye, to set vpon the chiefe capitayne, and wyth all violence to seke meanes to kyll hym: whych beinge ones slayne, thyne Armye eyther shall atchyue the victorie, or els depart w egall prayse of that bickeryng. For the heed being cut of, what strength is in the other membres. 61.

¶ Thoffyce of the capitayne.

The capitayne wyllyngly must heare

the complayntes of the souldyours, and theyr guydes. But yf he be dryuen and enforced therunto, let hym shewe hym selfe to take the thynge in hande agaynst hys wyll. And by that meanes he shall purchase theyr fauours, and be taken as a father, rather then a capitayne, whome the souldyours wyll haue in great reuerence wythout any feare or dreade.

62

¶ To forbeare holye thynges.

The capitayne ought to commaunde hys men, to refrayne and forbeare from holy thynges, vnder a greate penaltye. Lest other his affaiers (the more vnluckelye for suche thynges) do chaunce, & God be enuyfull to vs aswell as man.

¶ Of the capitaynes liberalitie when the battayle, is wonne.

63

The capitayne ought bountifully and wyth a pleasaunte countenaunce, to rewarde hys whole hoste, after that the victorye is atchyued. That his souldyours by such rewardes enlarged to them, may hencefoorth be more redye and glad, to en-

terprise moost perylous daungers. For a faythfull armye woyll swallowe vp all parylles, before that so lyberall a capytayne, shuld haue any shame or reproche. Therfore ỹ capitaynes must in such case shewe themselues large in rewardes, wt which not only mẽ, but gods also be wõderfully reconcyled. Also let the capitayn remembre to setforth the doinges of hys souldiours with hyghest prayse, vsynge some oration, eftsones gyuing thẽ immortall thankes for theyr manfull valiauntnesse in that battayl: declaring al thinges to be done according to theyr loyall duty and allegeaunce.

64

¶ Of reproche to be eschued.

A wyse capitayne ought to warne his souldiours, to regarde and wey nothyng somoche as theyr good fame. For who wolde desyre the fruition of this lyfe, but rather miserable death, to haue his name stayned wt cowardyse. Therfore the capitayne ought to enforme his whole army that they regarde theyr name, before al other thinges. By this meane he shal haue his cõpany fearig nothig more thã shame very desyrous of prayse, and readye in all

perylles, so that he shall take none enterpryse, ne hygh assayze in hande, whyche shall not chaunce to hys mynde and wyl.

65. ¶ Of the capitaynes offyce in ioynynge of the battayle.

The dutye and offyce of a good capytayne, is to come into the forewarde and fronte of the battayle, in the ioynynge of the hostes, to succour these companyes ỳ begynne to stagger and faynte, and furnysh them agayne that be discomfyted. It is fearefull to hys enemyes to set the capitayne in the forewarde at the fyrst ioynyng, and to hys owne men an hartyng and boldnesse. But let not hym longe tarye there, but returne to the other wardes, and knowe what thynges they lack. and what maye be profytable to them, & what noysome, euer bryngyng fresh and newe men, for them that be wounded, therwyth strengthenyng the forewarde, wyth pyked champyons, which be most valyaunte and best practysed in trauayles and feates of warre.

66. ¶ How to entreate thyne enemyes, the byctorie obtayned.

The

The dutye and office of a polityke capitayne is, after that the battayle is won and the victorie ones atchyued, to saue theyr lyues that haue not ben very cruel, and ouer stubburne. For what can be thought more vngentle, yea more like to the cruell and fierce brutall beastes, then wythout anye mercye and mekenesse, to handle thyne enemyes. A capitayne vndoubtedly of suche conditions, shall kendle the myndes of all men agaynste hym, that they had leauer to suffre all thynges then to be vnder his rule and gouernaūce and proue the chaunce of battayl, then to yelde them selues to suche a cruell monster. Wherfore let euery capitayne be gētle to hys souldyours, vsyng all meanes to kepe them bounden to hym, partly by prayssynge theyr valyaunt deades, sometyme rewardyng them lyberally, remembryng this, where leest ieopardy is, there to vse hys power wyth lyke discretion, lest he be mocked, that in suche a lytle busynesse, he doth vse hys mayneforce and puissaunce. For that capitayne is iudged rather to be foolysshe, then wyse, that vseth more fiercenesse, then is nedefull.

Ther-

Therfore a wyse capitayne wyll consyre the tyme and cause, and not folowe hys angre, the compagnion and marowe of cruelnesse.

¶ To kepe leage and promysse of peace with our enemyes. 67

Whatsoeuer leage of peace the capytayne shall make with any cytye, kyng or prince, honest it is that he kepe the same stedfastly, and that he do not slyppe from it, or shewe hym selfe disloyal, for any displeasure done to hym of his enemyes. For howe moche is that capitayne worthy to be regarded, whose fayth is attaynted, and whose falsehode, is disdayntull to euery man: wherfore not onely to our frendes, but also to our enemies, fayth is to be kept, and promyses are surely to be performed All wyse capitaynes haue done this. Yea Scipio Africanus, in the tyme of truce, wyth the cytizins of Carthage, moued dyuerse wayes, and sustetyng many rebukes, succesfed to reuenge his wronges, both for the dignitie of the Romayne people, and also for hys owne honoure, wyllynge to kepe hys faythe of peace, otherwyse then the citizins of Carthage,

chage, men notable for theyr falsehode, dyd perfourme to warde hym, knowynge traynes and deceiptes to come rather of a seruyle nature, then of honest mynde and noble herte.

¶ Of the captaynes offyce in accomplyshyng al thynges. 68.

The offyce of a carefull capitayne, is to watche, to be spedye, to go about al thynges: not plucked awaye for anye sleape, paynes, or other pleasures, therwyth redye daye and nyght, to seke all occations to noye hys enemyes, and to relieue hys frendes, whych must spare for no money to knowe the endeuours of hys enemyes dayly, yea yf he can euery houre. By faithfull spyes, shortly he shall knowe that, yf he wyll frely reward them, at the begynnyng, and then after lode them wyth greter promylles. Thys is the nerest meane to auoyd hynderaunce, and discomfiture of our men, and the best pollicye to gette the mastrye.

¶ When thyne enemyes armye prepareth passage ouer any water. 66.

yf

yf thou haue pytched thy tentes nygh to anye ryuers syde, and thyne ennemyes wolde haue passage that waye, suffre thē frely to passe by, dissemblynge feare and flyght, and when parte of theyr armye is passed ouer, then set vpon them, wyth all thy puissaunce. For at suche tymes, the victorye is moost easely gotten, when thou doest fyght agaynst parte, and not wyth the whole Armye. But spare not to dyscomfyte them that be passed ouer, and also to stoppe and kepe backe those that be on the other syde.

70. ¶ When thy souldyours ben astonyshed and fearefull.

A capitayne that is redye to fyght, & perceyueth hys Armye fearfull and astonyshed, ought to refrayne for that tyme, feynyng one cause or other, that hys purpose is so shortly chaunged. For feare is the readye waye to lose the victorye, whē on the other part boldnesse and sure trust to ouer throwe all, do cause worthy ye victories. Feare also causeth moche slaughter, of thy men. Therfore a wyse capitayn wyll not yssue, wyth hys Armye toward hys enemyes, for feare of discomfyture, when

when his men be so herteleſſe & cowardlike, but wyl forbeare for that tyme, & vſe all meanes to plucke ỹ feare out of theyr mindes, finiſhing his orations with this concluſion: That the victorye is in theyr handes, yf wythout feare they wyl bolden them ſelues to matche and encountre wyth theyr enemyes.

¶ When ſcarcetie of vytayles is amonge our enemyes. 71.

When our enemyes lacke vytayles, & ſuffre great ſcarcitie of all thynges, beſt it is, to withdrawe our ſelues, and vtterly refrayne from battayle, that by famyn our enemyes maye ſterue: And then we ſhall get a noble victorye, without blood ſheddyng of our ſouldyours. For an Armye beſieged wyll attempt all thynges, rather then to be famyſhed. But a payneſull capitayne, in al thynges conſyderyng the cõmoditie of hys hooſte, in ſuche caſe wyll not gyue open battayle, neyther for iniuryes of hys enemyes, ne yet for the lauaſh wordes of his owne companye. Not conſyderyng and weyinge before, the ende of the matter, as it becommeth a wyſe man.

¶ Battayle is not to be begone
72 but of neceſſitie and
conſtraynte.

Battayle is neuer good to be begone, but eyther of vrgent neceſſitie, or elles of great opportunitie. Although ſome prynces ſhortly ben entyſed to make battayle, when any lyght occation ſhall ſerue, and yet they be not trauayled in knowledge of warre, ne do perceyue the ſlyppernelle of fortune, which for this tyme bryngeth her ſelfe very fauourable. To thintēt ſhe maye ouerthrowe and caſt into myſerye all her adherentes: whyich thyng Marc the Romayne emperour dyd wel knowe whiche after he had twyſe dryuen kynge Bocchus to flight, and done moch ſlaughter, vppon his men, yet he denyed not to ſtryke truce wyth hym, although manye of hys petycapitaynes earneſtlye brailed and grudged agaynſt that dede of Marc whiche dyd remembre the bryckelneſſe of fortune, that at her pleaſure, lifteth vp the oppreſſed, and treadeth vnder ꝯ victours

¶ To refrayne from battayle before that
73. we haue deuyſed and layed
our traynes.

A watch

A watchfull capitayne wyl beware to make battayl, before that he haue layed & couertly conueyed his traynes, whych be the chefest cause of the victorie: wythout whiche (for the mooste parte) Annibal neuer gat any famous victorye. For when the Romaynes and the Carthaginenses dyd ioyne togyther in battayle, in open & playne felde, the Romaynes euer preuayled, and gat the vpperhande, wherfore a wylye capitayne wyll chose a place, to intrappe and betraye his enemyes. For by suche traynes he shall conquere them easely, and otherwayes perchaunce he shal be shamefully discomfited and oppressed.

¶ What is to be done, that our enemies may be perswaded, their capitayne to be slayne. 74

When the hostes be ioyned togyther, and god Mars guydeth al, then vse this pollicye, to cast thyne enemyes in feare. Sende some souldiour, cõmyng in theyr languag, which may sowne and crye vp a loude voyce, that they do fyght in vayn for theyr chefe capitayne is slayne. Thys must be done in that parte, where the capytayne is not.

For

For there the ſouldyours wyll be more lyght of credence, and ſoner in feare. Yea, and for this cauſe chefelye, that battayle bryngeth this yll with hym, that noman is there borne, or waxeth to any ſtature, but many be ſlayne, yea the ſtrõgeſt and mooſt delyuer men of all. By this meane therfore ſone they do beleue the rumour, and be put in feare, which if it abyde, cauſeth the puiſaunce both of the mynde, & the bodye, to fal and faynte. And they be ready to retrace, offeryng them ſelues to be ſlayne, lyke beaſtes.

¶ To kepe whole and ſaulfe territories and townes.

75

A forſeing capitayne ought (yea prouoked to many iniuries) to refrayne, and not to waſt ſuch townes and territories as he purpoſeth to haue vnder his dominyon and rule. For by that meane he ſhal purchaſe the fauour of the countreymen and by ſuche gentleneſſe, he ſhall eſcape the name of crueltie. For certes the men of that prouynce, wyll thynke that that chiefe capitayne doth fauour them: whē he doth forbeare to diſpeople and waſte theyr townes and fieldes, and doeth not

appeare

appeare, to stryue for theyr goodes and ryches-
se, but for the empyre and lordshyp
pes. For no man doeth doubte that real-
mes be mayntayned and nourysshed by ỹ
only loue and obeysaunce of the subiects,
and not by any Armes of men, or ryche
treasures. Therfore let the capitayne cō-
maund all hys souldiours to vse no fierce
nesse in that prouyng, whiche entendeth
to subdue, but to dismisse the noble men
and citizins that be taken captyues fre-
ly, and with great gyftes, vsyng all mea
nes to crepe into theyr fauour.

¶ That thyne Armye is to be lodged and kept in the marches of thyne enemyes.

76

Kepe thy hoste in the borders or pale
of thyne enemyes, for any thynge, & there
purney bytayles for them wyth all dyli-
gence, sparynge thy frendes. For when
thou dost lodge thyne army, in theyr cōu-
tryes, or nye to theyr campe, thou doest
breake theyr herte, and moch discourage
them: eftsones auauncyng and encoura-
gyng the stomakes of thy frendes. In ex-
ample wherof, Annibal the chiefe capy-
tayne of the Carthaginenses, doth teache

what profite it is to lodge our host in the campe of our enemyes, whych conducted and conueyed hys armye from Hispayne by many ieopersome trauayles, into Italye, whych wholy almoost he dyd waste, by fyre and swoorde, & conquered a great part therof. Scipio also knowing ỳ same pollicie, brought forthe hys Armye into Afryke, and gat Carthage by rendre and vpgyuynge.

77. ¶ What is to be done, when in wynter we must fyght.

Best it is in colde wynter, to take mete before we go to fyght. For good meate & drynke, be the nerest remedyes, to refresh vs, and put awaye colde. The proffe of which thing, by ỳ slaughter of the romaynes at the stoude called Trebea, is playnly shewed where the romayn power was almoost lost and destroyed, ỳ cause wher of was, that the capitayne brought forth his souldiours whych were wyllynge to fyght, fastyng and vndyned: wherby the mooste parte of them clunged for colde, was rather by starkneſſe of meat, thã by ỳ violence of theyr enemies shame. Therfore the capitayne must warely forsee, ỳ

in

in wynter tyme he do not issue forth with hys men before they be refreshed wᵗ hote meates and drynkes. By thys meane he shall ouergo and subdue hys ennemyes, whych by longe fyghtyng shall faut and fall downe for hungre, when men refreshed wyth hote meates, bene hable to susteyne battayle an whole daye.

¶ Of pleasures to be eschued of the capitayne, and the hoste.

The inuincible Armye of Annibal, doth planly setforth before our eyes, that the pleasures of the bodye be hurtfull to an hooste of men, to bereste them of theyr wytte, fierse and fell courage, which wintryng in Capua, lost theyr strengthes. For Capua is the mother cytie of wanton pleasures, so that Anniball dyd often embrayde his men, saying: that that hoste was not hys, whych he had before. The cause wherof was the pleasure of Capua wherby the lustye myndes of the souldyours were nesshed and made womanlike Therfore the capitaynes ought to be carefull, that theyr men be not vanquysshed soner of pleasures, then of theyr enemies

Whyche thynge were shamefull and re-
prochеable. The cytye called Spartana
dyd turne the eyes of theyr cytizins from
Asia, bycause from thence dydde come all
thynges pleasaunt, which be the deedlye
poyson of the mynde, and of the bodye.
They also did wel knowe, and were assu-
red that men soner do fall to wantõnesse
from vertue, then they do forsake pleasu-
res, and embrace vertue.

79. ¶ To chose a place to fyght in, whē
the sunne and the dust maye be
noysome to thyne enemyes
and in theyr eyes.

The capitayne ought to chose a place,
mete and cõmodious to fyght in, prouy-
dyng that the sunne may be in the face of
his enemyes. And yf the place be sandye
or drye, for the heate of sommer, let hym
tarye the tyme, that the wynde blowe in
the face of his enemyes, and on his soul-
dyours backes. For the coursynge of hor-
ses wyll rayse vp a great dust, which the
wynde wyll carye into the faces of thyne
enemyes, and blynde theyr eye syght.
And this was the chefe cause of the Ro-
mayne slaughter at ỳ towne called Cãnę

¶ Of tyme not to be loſt, or vaynely ſpent. 80.

Nothyng ought to be moze regarded, of a pollityk capitayne, then tyme, which entendeth to enterpzyſe greate thynges, wozthye euerlyuyng renoume. Foz ſluggeſhneſſe cauſeth bothe loſſe and ſhame. Wherfoze he muſt endeuoure, to fynyſh all thynges wyth care and ſpedyneſſe, after the example of Annibal of Carthage whyche by greate rewardes, purchaſed paſſage into Ytaly, ẏ theſoner he mought finyſh hys iourney, and ende his voyage. The ſame thyng alſo was done by the romayne capitayne, which embzaided and rebuked of his frendes, that he boughte his paſſage derelye, made this anſwere. I regarde not my coſtly iourneye, when I haue redemed the tyme, mooſte dere to them that trauayle and employe theyz wytte about thynges weyghtye, and of greate impoztaunce.

¶ Of good and euyl doinges ſemblable to be rewarded as punyſhed. 81.

Yf thy men do any faulte in thyne Armye, be ſlowe in theyz punyſhmentes.

But bountyfull in gyuynge rewardes, yf thou haue knowledge, ỳ they haue done any thing galauntly and well, that other maye be prouoked and styred vp, at that example to be redye at hande. For valyaunt and lusty warryours be moze slow when theyr welldoinges dye wythout rewardes, or thankes. Therfore let the capitayne auaunce and setforth hym selfe, by largesse the onelye vertue laudable, to knytte and lyme hys men in sure loue, & the causer of all good chaunces, without whych all other thynges decaye, as it appeareth by the ryche kyng Perses, which nygardly gappynge after treasures, was bereste by the Romaynes, bothe of hys kyngdome, and richesse, with most shame and sclaundze.

82. ¶ What is to be done when thy men be lyght and spedye.

He that hath a lyght Armye must pursue, and wyth spede trace after hys enemyes, whych be loden wythe harneys, & trouble them daye and nyght, wyth contynuall assaultes, not sufferyng them quyetly to take theyr meate and drynke, but bzynge them into extreme dispayze. The

whych thynge was well knowen of Sertorius, an expert warryour and wyse capitayne, whych dyd so disquyet Pompei, wyth hys lyghte harnessed men, that he brought hym into vttermoost distruste & discomforte. Wherfore it is a greate policy to haue light harnessed men in thyne Armye. For so thou mayeste discomfyte thyne ennemyes, and they not lykewyse the. Yf therfore an Armye laden with harneys pursue the, thou doest not nede gretly to care, that thy men shall be oppressed by them, when on the other partye, thou mayest nowe and then assaulte, and dylle them, when they be weryed, & yet quycklye thou mayest retrace backe, and skape. It is therfore profytable for the Italyons to fetche manye horses oute of the east partye, whych be to them a great helpe to destroye theyr enemyes.

¶ That examples do helpe to encourage souldyours. 83.

Howe moche examples do moue and encourage souldiours, Sertorius cõmen of the stocke of Senatours, & a valiaunt

capitayne doth wytnesse, which when he was not able to bridle and rule the fierce violēce of the barbarous aliens (whome then he dyd leade in battayle) after that many of them were slayne of the Romaines, and mo wounded, endeuourynge to comfort theyr sorowfull and heauye hertes, and restore theyr olde strength, caused two horses to be brought into the opē fielde of the whole armye, of whyche the one was leane and the other was fatte & lustye, commaundyng also a stronge mā to plucke of the tayle of the leane horse, & a weake man to plucke of the tayle of the fatte horse. But the stronge man went aboute to plucke the whole tayle awaye at one plucke, and yt nothinge auayled. And the weake man that laboured to plucke awaye heere by heere, made all bare to ỳ stompe. Then the army whiche dyd not knowe, what that example dyd meane, had the thynge declared to them of theyr capitayne. And so by that wyttye example he had them euer after buxome, and obedient at his commaundement.

84. ¶ That nothyng be done agaynst the capitaynes commaundement.

In

In the Armye, neyther meate ne drynke ought to be taken, without the cõsente of the capitayne. But all thynges must be done by his aduertysemente. By thys waye theyr busyneſſe shal more happely come to paſſe.

¶ To refrayne thy ſouldyours sometyme. 85.

It is a poynte of wyſdome, somtyme to holde backe thy ſouldyours from battayle, whyche pollicye is not vnprofytable. For afterwarde they wolde be more gladde to fyght, and more fiercelye wyll go vpon theyr enemyes.

¶ It is not tyme to fight when thyne enemyes do diſpayre, and be careleſſe of theyr lyues. 86.

When we perceyue our enemyes, nothyng to regarde the pleaſure of theyr lyues, but lyke brute beaſtes headlynge, to come vpon vs. It shalbe profytable somwhat to gyue place to theyr woodneſſe. Yea although we be able to ouermatche them in nombre and force of men. Alſo yf they were cloſed and enuyroned on euery ſyde, beſt it were to open way, and make a glade

a glade for them. For nothing is more folysh and vayne, then to fyght with them that wyllyngly wolde dye.

37. ¶ What is to be done when we mistruste our souldyours to be afrayed of the sowne of gũnes and noyse of them ỹ wayle.

Yf any lykenesse be, or mistruste that thy souldyours bene afrayed of the gunshote and otherwyse, whereby theyr hertes be lyke to fayle, it is a good pollicye, to stop their eares with some thing, and so without feare they shall fyght, neyther hearyng the wofull waylynges of them that be wounded, ne yet the noyse of gunnes. Whych pollicye wyl serue at these dayes agaynst the Almaynes that vse a greate nombre of gunnes in theyr armyes.

38. ¶ What is to be done when thyne enemyes be moost parte archers.

When our enemyes be for the mooste part archers, then set agaynst them, men fenced with tergates, whych sort of souldyours be sometyme in the hostes of the East partie. And by this pollicie thyne army shalbe out of theyr daunger.

What

¶ What is to be done before the siege of a cytye. 89.

Before we begynne to lay siege to any cytie (my counsayle is) fyrst gently to fall into some entreatie with them, and therwyth to prouoke and entyse them, to render vp theyr cytie by large gyftes, & fayre promysses, chiefelye yf that people be naturallye desyrous of ryches. For the renoume of that capitayne whych without bloodsheddyng doth atchyue the victorye is vnmatcheable, besyde that hys men wyth fierce stomakes wyl auenture their lyues for hys sake.

¶ Of rashnesse to be eschued of a capitayne. 09.

It is a thynge vnsittyng to se a capytayne or an armye trauayled in warres, to vse any violence, or vnaduysed heedynesse. Suche a braynsyke and hopelosse capitayne, is worthye to be forsaken, lest that by hys follye the whole hoste be destroyed of theyr enemyes lyke shepe.

¶ A policye to take the fotemen.

91. Yf thou purpose to bryngе forthe the fotemen of thyne enemies, then cause thy horsemen to retreate and gyue backe, by lytle and lytle, dissemblyng feare & flyght that therby the fotemen maye be entysed to raunge and runne abrode, which kepe them selues in strayte, hyllye, and roughe couertes, where the horsemen can haue no easye entrie to them. By which meane the fotemen shall be taken and slayne.

92 ¶ A pollicie to disfeate and dispoynt the gunners, that they stande in no stede and vse.

The Frenchemen and Almaynes, at these dayes haue in thẽyr armies a great nombre of gunners, which sore trouble & hyndre theyr enemies. Wherfore my cõsayle is, that armye (which hath no suche souldyours) to sette vpon them in moofte raynye wether. For at those tymes they be vnseruyable, and can do no good.

93. ¶ Of the offyce of the capitayne in orderyng the assayers of hys armye.

The graund capitayne ought discretely to deuyde and poynt in good ordre, the

bulynesse of his army among his peticapi taynes. Wherby he may be dispatched & depeched of al other businesse, but only to searche the counsayle and attemptates of hys enemyes, and therewyth he maye ouerse, that enery man attentyuelye per-fourme hys woꝛke and taske.

¶ To refrayne aswel from the empyꝛe as from the treasu-res after the victoꝛie. 94.

Our auncestours noble men, of godlye lyuynge, thought it ynoughe to ouer-thꝛowe theyꝛ enemyes, and only content with the conquest, dyd earnestly refrayne from the empyꝛe, lest they shoulde be iud-ged rather to fyght foꝛ bayne rychesse, which be the very cause of deathfull bat-tayle, then foꝛ euerlyuyng renoune. These were men, whose doinges ar woꝛ thye to be fresshe and flouryshynge in the memoꝛie of man, whose names are woꝛ-thye to be spꝛed immoꝛtall, in euery age, whose fame shoulde not be shutte vp, oꝛ hydde in any posteritie. These maye be a patent and pꝛesident, to all other, and the shynyng ymage of vertue, whom al men may beholde and loke foꝛ the enfoꝛcemēt

of theyr prowesse, in suche lyke assayers. But alas the chrystian princes and kynges, of this age, be of an other sort and cõdition (the whych thing vnneth I can rehearce without teares) whyche ought to cast downe theyr eyes, with blushing coũtenaunce, when they reade or heare the Ethnike princes so farre to passe them, in theyr doinges, and in all other kyndes of vertue.

95. ¶ To constrayne thy souldyours to fyght.

When thou doest mistrust that thy soldyours wyll gyue backe and flye, my coũsayle is, to sette at theyr backe a stronge garryson of men, whiche maye receyue & take them at theyr retreate, and without mercye kyll them, in the sight of the other And therfore make this crye and proclamation amonge thy men, that they fyght manfully, puttyng no trust in runnynge awaye. Whiche opinion of desparation is the onely remedye for suche cowardes.

96 ¶ To tame fierce people.

Yf there be any sorte of people, that be fierce

fierce and noysome to thy men: Best it is to take from them theyr horses, harneyes and weapons. For what can theyr haulte frowarde, and churlysshe stomakes preuayle, without theyr weapons. And this pollicie the machomete byshop, which is called the Soldane, doeth vse. Or els he coulde neuer kepe vnder and tame, so many people with so fewe guydes, and vyle souldiours, except he had forbydden them the vse of theyr horses, harneis and other thynges.

¶ To dissemble retreate. 97

Profytable it is somtyme, to leaue to thyne enemyes, thy pauilions furnysshed and replenysshed with good wynes, and dayntye meates, and to dissemble to flye, wyth thy hoste. And after at mydnyght vnloked for, to assayle them, when they be fylled and engorged excessiuelye wyth wyne and meates. For certes then thou shalte fynde them dronken, and as deed, wyth suche intemperaunce, that it shalbe easye, withoute manslaughter to subdue them. And this pollicye is worthye to be remembred.

98 ¶ To pyke out for ſouldyours thoſe whych be paynfull.

When thou doeſt maſter thy men, thā beſt it is to choſe for ſouldyours, thoſe ỹ be hardye, ſtronge and paynfull. For daſtardes and neſh felowes ben vnfytte for warres, when paynfull and bourlye felowes wyll become good warryours.

99. ¶ Of exercyſe.

The Romayne people (lordes ouer all the worlde) haue taught vs by theyr doinges, to knowe what profyte doth come of exercyſe, whyche as well in tyme of peace, as in warre, dyd occupy theyr chyualerous men, in the feates of warre. They of ryght were called lordes. For what ſcience is that whyche can be kepte flourylhyng without exercyſe, when exercyſe doeth paſſe and ouercome nature, & alſo cauſeth women vnmanly, to be warlyke and bolde: As appeareth by the women called Amazones: which practiſyng theyr ſelues in martiall labours, became princeſſes and empreſſes.

Therfore a ſkylfulle capytayne ought to dryue hys men to ſome kynde of exercyſe, leſt they be aſtonyſhed, whē tyme is that they

they muſt fyght. For this word (exercitꝰ) an hoſte, hath hys name of exercyſe.

¶ What is to be done, when our enemyes be conquered. 100.

Yf it ſhall be thy chaunce to ouercome thyne enemyes, it ſhall be not vnprofytable, to put on theyr armature and apparell, and then wyth all ſpede, to goo and aſſayle theyr cytyes. For peraduenture they being deceyued through the faſhyon of the armatour, and apparell, ſoner may be taken, and alſo diſmayed with the ſodayne chaunce, and being bare of al counſayle, wyll yelde vp theyr cytye, and theyr ſelues.

¶ When fewe muſt fyght agaynſt many. 101.

Oftentymes it chaunceth, that a lytle nombre ſhalbe enforced to fyght agaynſt a great power. Wherfore this is my cou̅ſayle, in ſuche a caſe, that thou ſette vpon thyne enemyes by nyght, wherby contemnyng ſo ſmall and weake a nombre, wyll negligently kepe watche and warde, at whyche tyme by fortune beinge ladye of warres, which fortune is gentle to them

that beseche and ensue her helpe, and fauoureth them, that do lose theyr owne demayns, and after rauen other mens possessyon, thou mayeste dyscomfyte, and ouerthrowe them. By thys pollycye, the fierse Carthaginenses, hauynge thre mayne hostes, reioysynge at the death of the Scipions, and at the discomfiture of the mooste parte of the Romayne hooste, were in one nyght in Spayne scattered, dryuen to flyght, and slayne wyth ỹ Romaynes, that remayned alyue, whyche were a very fewe. Whyche destruction of the citizyns of Carthage, was the chiefe cause that the Romaynes kept styll Hyspayne, after the vnluckye death of ỹ Scipions. Therfore this pollicie maye be vsed in greate nede and peryllous daunger.

102. ¶ When the souldyours must sleape.

Accustome thy souldiours to slepe without strawe, that by vsage they maye do that wyllyngly, to the whiche necessitye shall sometyme compell them. And what doth more in all thynges, then custome, whyche is the ladymastresse to putte all

thynges

thinges in vre. For nothig can be thought sharpe or paynefull, to them that wonte theyr selues to hardynesse. Therfore let men vse sufferaunce, in newe and straūge enterpryses, whych doth bryng al thynges to a perfection.

¶ To bryng suspicion of treason amonge thyne enemyes. 103.

Yf any of thyne enemyes whiche hath good skyll in warlye busynesse, do disappoynte the of those thynges ỳ thou doest attempt: It shall be profytable for the, to bryng hym in suspicion of treason, wyth his prince, or hys citizyns, by some crafty deceipt. As in these two examples I shal teache the. The one is, when thou doest waste other mens fieldes, that then thou forbeare purposely, from his, whom thou doest couette to bryng into suspition of treason. Whych pollicie Annibal of Carthage vsed agaynst Quintus fabius maximus the Emperour of Rome, yea rather the conseruatour.

The other pollicie is, to sende some of thy seruauntes that be trusty & subtile to him whome thou woldest bryng in a iealousye

of treason, to cõmune and talke with him as with his frendes, which thynge shall brynge hym both in hatred and suspition of treatorie, agaynst hys kynge, and cityzins. The which feate the Romaynes vsed agaynst Annibal. Or els the capitayn maye inuent, beside these wayes, some other craft consydryng the tyme and place as to fayne letters, in which some matter of treason, is conteyned and entreated of betwene them, and prouyde that those letters maye be conueyed to the handes of the Emperour. But this stratageme neyther I approue, ne yet greatly prayse excepte it were agreed of the hole destruxtion of thempyre.

104. ¶ Of outwarde helpe that be suspicious warely to be receyued.

They that make battayle, are wont to requyre ayde from theyr confederates, & from theyr tributaries, or elles to hyre straunge souldyours, which thyng often tymes is the falle and destructiou, of an whole Armye. For when they haue anye assyaunce, in theyr hyred men, sharpelye begynnynge to fyght, and reioyse as by-

ctours

ctours, eyther shortelye the hyred souldy-
ours, do stagger, and stande at a staye, to
turne theyr face, or elles the capitayne is
dryuen to fyght agaynste them wyth hys
mē. Wherfore do thou not requyre moch
outwarde helpe, but of such whose faith
thou doest not suspecte. These hyred and
straunge souldyours were the destructiō
of the Scipions in Hispayne. For when
they trusted and affyed the Spaynyar-
des, the two brethren deuyded theyr Ar-
mye, which being kepet togyther, coulde
not haue bene subdued. And shortly after
through theyr false helpers, bothe were
slayne, and all theyr men for the mooste
parte maymed or kylled.

¶Of discention to be swa-
ged and appeased.

105.

Yf any heynous discention be styrred a-
monge thy souldyours, whyche oftenty-
mes may happen, for diuisions rysyng a-
mōg thē, my coūsayl is, to set all thynges
in quyet staye, and bryng them agayne
to concorde, cōstrayne them by othes ma
kynge, to forget suche wronges, and be-
come good frendes, and felowes agayne
cōmaundyng also that from thencefoorth,

they do not shewe anye token or remembraunce of that varyaunce, in deede ne worde.

106. ¶ What tyme townes and cities maye be despoyled and taken.

That capitayne is worthie to be hyghly praysed of hys owne men, and greatly feared of his enemyes, that by his wytte and conueyaunce goth about to take and despoyle townes, without bloodsheddig of hys armye, and endeuoureth by pollicie to conquere countries. That capitayn shall euer haue his souldyours redye and at hande, to ieoparde on thynges harde & daungerous: wherfore it becommeth a prouident capitayne, to proue and assaye all thynges, rather by conueyaunce and pollici, then by force of armes. For greater victoryes be wonne and gotten by policye, then strength. Therfore by nyght, & when rayne falleth, cytyes and townes are to be taken and despoyled.

107 ¶ Howe moche the presence of the graunde capitayne doeth profyte.

How

How necessary the presence of ỳ graũd capitayn is in the battayl, al men (whose wyttes be not on batfoulyng) may clerelye perceyue and se. For the souldyours, yea and theyr capitaynes, aswel for feare of shame, as specyallye for the presence of the graunde capitayne, wyll bestyre thẽselues mooste valyauntly. Many also for trust of rewarde, and chefely to purchasse the Emperours fauour attentyuely wyll exploite and furnysh all thynges. Oftentymes also the battayle slowlye and cowardly foughten, is renued and restored, manfully by the presence of the graund capityne, whych doeth not leaue anye feate or trayne vnprouyded, encouragyng hys men now with menacies, and now with gentle and comfortable wordes. By whyche meane the souldyours wyll contende one to passe an other in prowesse, so that in the Emperours syght, they maye do some thynge notable and prayse worthye. Therfore nothynge worthie perpetuall memorie can be done, yf the Emperour or graund capitayne be not at hand.

¶ Of the multitude of enemyes.

yf it chaunce, any great prince to be be
sette on euery parte wyth many enemies,
so that he is not able to beare theyr force
and vyolence, myne aduyse is, that wyth
some he do make a leage of frendshyppe,
and wyth other he do entreate of peace,
And so he shall escape and auoyde ꝑ dam
gerfull destruction of his countrye. For
when so many go about to get thy kyng
dome, it is a lyght thyng, to put of some
of them, eyther with great promyses, or
w̄ money, chefely in this tyme, whē me
do not stryue somoche for renoume, as
they do for ryches, and all the worlde doth
gape for golde and syluer.

109. ¶ Of enemyes that be humble
and treatable.

Somtyme for a lyght cause, great
battayles be begonne amonge men: wher
fore yf they agaynste whome we make
our preparaũce, shewe them selues gẽtle
and tractable, it were not honeste on the
other partye to shewe our selues vnmer
cyful. For what can chaunce more shame
full to any man in hys lyfe, then to be no
ted and attached wyth tyrãny. what cã
make vs more worthye to be lykened to

the

the wylde beastes, and also more doeth hurte the aduauncement of our renoume the encrease of our honour, and the wele publike of our realmes, then horryble tyrannie. Wherfore suche crueltie ought to be eschued, no lesse then the wylde beastes.

¶ Of daungerfull and perylous battayles. 109

Greuous and daungerfull battayles, do chaunce oftentymes amonge men. For whych cause a sage capitayne ought to prouyde for all thynges, with ernest labours, and cheifely that he haue olde and beaten souldyours. For they knowynge the vse of battayle, doo not feare naked swordes, ne yet for strypes, no although they take many depe woundes, they styfly wyl abyde and stande to all ieopardies for the kepyng of theyr old men. Also they being practysed in warly knowledge, can discerne what is profytable and what is not, euer decreing this with them selues, eyther to conquere and ouercome theyr enemyes, or els manfullye to dye, whyche is the true token and argument of a noble herte and lustye blood.

¶ It is mete for yonge men in theyr youth to practyse martiall feates.

111

They whyche wyll become good and experte warriours, ought in theyr youth dilygently to applye and folowe ꝯ same. For yf a yongeman wonte hym self quyckly to bestryde and mount vpon his horse, and lykewyse to lyght downe, to takevp his horse with the spurres, that he maye praunse, trauerse, and flyng wyth the heles, then surelye he shall become a good warryour. Let hym also practise to shote in handegunnes, and crossebowes, to cast dartes, and chargegunnes, to cary sworde and tergate, and somtyme with his marrowes to raunge lyke a man of armes, to resemble a battayle: ✝ that when he commeth to mans stature, greate experyence shall shyne and appeare in hym. To such one all labours, whyche be to other men intollerable, be lyght & easye, as to lodge on the earth, to suffre famyne, and abyde all other moost sowre and trauaylous paynes. ¶ Wherfore it is greate profyte to bryng vp youth in suche exercyse, to harden them in greater thynges.

¶ The youth of Englãde doth vse in theyre playges a warrelike sport and resemble of batayl, whiche is called England and Scotlãd

¶ To encreaſe the nombre of thyne enemyes by a rumour. 112

When a rumoure is ſparpled, that a myghtye hoſte of men commeth agaynſt the, augment the ſame rumoure amonge thy ſouldyours, affyrmynge the ſame to be true, by the repoꝛte and acknowledgig of thyne eutryders. Therby thou mayeſt be aſſured with what ſtomacke and herte they wyll buckle and bende them ſelues, to withſtande and receyue ſuch an huge nombre of enemyes, yf the nombre were ſo great in dede. When they ſhal come to fyght, and ſe the ſhewe to be abated, and diminiſſhed, forthwyth they wyll gather theyr hertes, with moche moꝛe foꝛce and vyolence, whych beſoꝛe doubtyng of the victoꝛye, now as victours wyll boldelye fyght, ſteppynge foꝛwarde, wyth cheres full courage, to whome nothynge is ieoperdſome, agaynſte theyr conceipt and opinion of the victoꝛie.

¶ To pꝛeuent the wylies and traynes of a nobler pꝛince. 113

when

When thou doest feare (and not wythout a cause) the trappes and deceiptes, of some noble man, leste that he wyll come vpō the sodaynly, and bereft ꝑ of thy kyngdome, dispoyle thy cyties and townes, and thruste thy lyue: It is not the worste, in preuentynge hym, to waste hys kyngdome spoyle hys cyties, and ymagyn his death. And so suche traynes which were prouyded for the, thou shalte vse to ouerthrowe and disceyue hym, and shalt catch hym in the same nettes and snares, that were layde and sette for the. For God his lawes, the lawe of man and nature, suffre well this, that a man maye turne that to the vndoinge of other men, whyche they layed for hym.

114. ¶ Of them that haue longe heere and longe beerdes.

When in some countryes vse longe berdes and longe heere, whyche in battayle be troublesome and vnprofytable. For they be good stayes, to holde a man hard and fast. Wherfore it shalbe good to clap them shorte. For lytle thynges somtymes do moche hurte. And in suche case al thynges whyche be hurtfull to vs, and profytable

table to our faes, are to be put awaye and not vsed.

¶ Before we laye siege to cy- 115.
tyes, good it is to possesse
the vplande fieldes.

It is not best to laye siege to any cyties before that we haue brought the whole demeanes of the cytye, into our handes. For yf the citizins kepe parte of theyr feldes in theyr possessyon, harde it shalbe to get them without the great losse of tyme. When other cyties in that tyme mought haue ben subdued. Whych pollicie ỹ women called Amazones, being of a manlye spyrite and bolde stomake, dyd put in vre: whych wolde neuer assaulte any citie, before that the y had taken the vplande villages.

¶ Of men wounded and kylled 116.
to be conueyed pryuily
out of the waye.

When wounded and kylled, do moche bolden thyne enemyes, and therwith cast downe the hertes of thyne owne men. Wherfore the capitayne must diligentlye prouyde, that he conuey away, and sende oys slayne men, with those that be woun

ded,

ded to ſome out place (alwell vnwares to hys enemyes, as alſo to hys owne hoſt) For Philip of Macedon was moch hyndred therby, whē he left ſlayne men in ſ ſight of his owne army, and therw plainly to be viewed of the outryders of ſ Romaynes, wherby the hoſt conceyued ſuche a feare, when they ſawe the wyde dennes and deyntes of the woundes of theyr fellowes, that they had rather ſuffre anye diſtreſſe, thā to haue any mo bickerynges wyth the Romaynes. In this thynge the kynge was blamed for hys ygnorraunce, whyche after he dyd acknowledge. The Turkes that bē in theſe dayes, men moſt expert in warre, know this pollicy which do burne theyr ſlayne men, leſt their owne men ſhulde haue any diſcomforte, or their enemyes any courage therof.

¶ Of the requeſtes of lowe and humble perona- ges to be herd.

117

A mercyfull capitayne ought not to diſdayne the prayers and peticions of hūble perſonages, but gentlye to hearken theyr

beheſtes

beheſtes and deſires. For what is moch prayſe worthye in a capitayne, as lowlyneſſe and humanitie: wherby he ſhal purchaſe both the fauour of hys owne men, and alſo of hys enemyes. Scipio Africanus warryng in Spayne agaynſt the Carthagineuſes, ſubdued more by hys vnſpeakeable hũbleneſſe, then by ỹ ſworde Alſo the vnprocheable humanitie of Ceſar dyd moche more lyfte vp and auaunce hys renoume, then all his noble actes, & dyd make hym wonderfull, and merueyled at, of all the worlde. Embrace therfore and folowe gentleneſſe, which is the lodge of manhode.

¶ To vſe cruelneſſe in the begynnyng of the warres. 118

It is not vnhoneſt in the begynnyng of thy warres, to vſe crueltie, whyche is the verye cauſe that cytyes and townes well defenced, many tymes be yelded vp: whych yf they had not feared ſuche cruelty, wolde haue taryed & tryed the doubtfull chaunce of warre, whereby moche hinderaunce mought haue chaunced and enſued to the capitayne and his Armye.

This

This pollicye the wyse Romayne capytayn Metellus vsed agaynst Jugurth, in Numidia. But why speake I of Metell? when all wyse capitaynes vsed this pollicye, and wyll vse it so longe, as they be in deedly warres.

How to kepe thy kyngdome by boldnesse and couragyousnesse.

119.

Brefely we haue tolde in our boke of the gouernement of an empyre, howe kyngdomes ought to be guyded. But now I wyll recyte one reason, not vnprofytable, bycause it happeneth oftentymes kyngdome to be ruled by lineall discent of heyres, and bycause yongemen which be tendre of age, sometyme doo possesse the royall authoritie, and themperiall estate whych for theyr youth sake ben assaulted of theyr neyghbours, nygh ioynyng and borderynge on them. Therfore my counsayle is, at the begynnyng of theyr gouernaunce, to shewe them selues sterne and stoute of mynde, therby to encourage the herres of theyr subiectes, and put theyr enemyes in feare. That thyng was well perceyued of Alexandre of Macedon con-

ques-

querour of all the worlde, which beynge yonge and tendre of age, takynge the empyre of Philip, kept it agaynst them that rebelled, by hys lusty courage, braggyng porte and greatnesse of mynde, although he was otherwayes enfourmed of hys counsaylours.

¶ Of chastitie in warre. 120.

Chastitie of all wysemen is hyghlye praysed, without whych no man is worthye to be called, or to haue the name of a capitayne. For how can he well guyde other men, that is ruled and led by pleasures and lustes, which be to man moost enuyfull foes. Therfore lette suche capitaynes folowe Alexander the moost dradde kynge of Macedon, whych not onlye abstayned from the stechlye pleasure of the beautyfull doughters of the kyng of Persia, but also from the syght of them. Also Scipio Africanus the luckie Emperour of the Romaynes, for his moost passyng chastitie deserued euerlyuing name. And also this worde (Castra) whiche we call an armye, hath his signification, bycause men there shoulde lyue chaste. I wyll not speake of the sclaundre whyche therby ca-

pitaynes do gette, but do you loke on the profytes. Doeth not lecherye make feble and weaken the strength, murther the wytte, hurte the memorie, dasel & blynde the syght, and perysh the hearyng: which all howe necessarye they be in battayle, and els where iudge you.

121 ¶ Of cauillations to be experienced in ieopardyes by capitaynes.

Wyse capitaynes are wonte in great ieopardyes to vse cauillations, to delyuer theyr souldyours out of care. For in so doinge, they appeare lytle to regarde that thynge, whyche theyr men chefelye feare. Wherfore the souldyours in suche case, cast away al feare, through the brag and confidence of the capitayne, & plucke vp theyr herte and courage. Anniball of Carthage, what tyme he rose in battayle, agaynst the Romaynes in Italie vsed cauellations. Alexandre of Macedon vsed also suche tryfelynges, in the greate battayles, with the king of Persia. For whē his frende asked of him why in so ieoperd some a battayle, he went to slepe, he gaue hym this answere merely. Dost thou not

knowe

know ỹ we haue ouercõmẽ our enemies, whych saying was blowen throughoute all the host, wherby they conceyued sure trust of the victorie.

¶ Of souldyours that do saye yll by theyr capitayne. 123.

It chaunceth oftentymes, the souldyours, yea those that be valyaunte warryours, to speake yll and backbyte theyr capytayne, when they be not taken and rewarded as they deserue by their doinges But yet the capitayne must take no displeasure therwyth, but rather shewe hymselfe liberall and gentle, that afterwarde they maye the more wyllynglye, followe hym at nede, then any other. Yea & gladly to runne through fyre and water, wyth hym, yf the cause shall requyre. Therfore a forecastynge capytayne wyll not cast of hys stronge souldyours for lyghte causes and tryfelles, but rather by all meanes he wolde entertayne and entreate them gentlye.

¶ Wyth what thynges thy souldyours ar to be encouraged.

123. Marius the happye capitayne of the Romayne people, doth shewe hym selfe a paterne and example, that souldyours ar to be encouraged by ỹ doinges of the capitayne, and not by vyolence. Which Marius dyd swete in all sorte of labours and toke great paynes, trauaylyng therby, rather then by violence, to call vp, and quycken the courage of his men. For whē they sawe theyr capitayne, to take on him such intollerable paynes, they were ashamed, that they dydde not abyde suche lyke labours, yea and moche more vnsufferable. Which doing of Marius, was worthye to be praysed. For how can a capitayne ỹ gyueth hym selfe to gluttonye and slepe, kendle and styre vp the dulnesse of hys men, to any bolde enterprise to watching or suche lyke thynges. The souldyours wyl also scorne suche a capitayne, that rebuketh other men of such faultes as chefelye appeare in hym worthye to be blamed. That capitayne therfore that wyll guyde & gouerne other men, must learne to master his owne affections, whych yf he do, no doubt there is, but that the hole armye with glad mynde wyl folowe his instru-

instructions, and obeye hys decrees.

¶ To purchace the fauour of a straunge countrye. 124.

The capitayne that weareth the apparell, and vseth the maners of the coũtrye, where he is, wonderfullye shall come in theyr fauour, when he shall appeare as a countryeman there borne and of the same people. Which policie Alexandre of Macedon vsed after he had subdued the king of Persia, and obtayned the empyre. For he dyd inure and accustome hym selfe to theyr maners and fashyons. And so he by wearynge theyr kynde of rayment, and by keppynge theyr vsuall customes, dydde bynde as true liege men, whom before he had conquered in battayle.

¶ A capitayne must be liberal, and therwith praysynge the stoutnesse of hys men. 125.

A capitayne ought to be liberal to hys men accordyng to theyr desertes, & therwyth to gyue them hye thankes, for their famous enterprices. And when they se theyr actes well rewarded and taken, thã all labours seme to them easy and lyght,

and that they may please theyr capitayne they wyll not feare to shedde and spende theyr blood. Therfore nothynge doth soner purchase the fauour and true hertes, of thy souldyours, then liberalite & thankesgyuyng, which two be nourysshers of valyauntnesse. For whych purpose a doũtyfull capitayne wyll not spare for anye coste, to ioyne the hertes of hys souldiours that thereby he maye haue them readye, and forwarde in all ieopardyes.

126. ¶ What is to be done when eruption is feared.

When we be afrayed of eruption, eyther of our enemyes, or oute of any cytye, best it is to caste bulwarkes, wyth turrettes of wood, that our armye maye be defenced and kept in sauetye on euery syde. For sodayne outbrastes do moche discomfyte and trouble oure armye, when our enemyes vnloked for do sette vpon vs. Suche is the violence of sodayne eruptiõ which maketh the downeman to become victour, and gyueth the victorye to hym that is vnlyke and nye subdued.

¶ What is to be done of the capitayne

pitayne, when hys arme is in extreme peryl and daunger.

127.

A venturous capitayne in the extreme distresse & ieopardy of his mẽ, must neglect his owne safetie, casting hym selfe in ieopardye, and put hys lyfe in hasarde. For the souldyours seing the great and daungerous peryll of theyr capitayne, wyl be imboldened to pluck vp theyr force afresh contemning theyr priuate lyfe. For what comforte can they haue, when theyr capitayne is loste and slayne. Wherfore they then past hope, wyll fyght in hope, and destitute of all hope, wyll mooste desperatlye, and lyke hopeloste, runne on theyr enemyes: whych is sometyme the recouerye of an whole hoste.

128

Wyth what thynge the mynde of the cõmunaltie is gotten.

The hertes and good wyll of the rude people is chefelye gotten by banketynge and rewardes, wherwyth they be moche pleased, iudgyng theyr selues, not to be regarded ne yet setby, excepte they be called to deyntye feastes and banketes. For the cõmeners do not seke, what is honest, but

what is profytable, and yf no profyte do ensue, theyr frendshyp and good wyll decayeth. Which thynge was not folowed of Sylust, that dyd bestowe and employ hys labour, rather to wryte the hystoryes of the Romaynes, then to seke and hunt for theyr fauour by feastmakyng and banketynge.

¶ Of the fashyon to sende letters.

129. Letters maye be conueyed to thy frendes in cyties, campes, or elles where, by byndynge them to arrowes.

130. ¶ To allure thyne enemyes to slyppe awaye, and fayle theyr capitaynes.

A wytfull capitayne wyll sende some of hys souldyours that be subtyle & wytty, to proue and tempt the mynde of his enemies, and by al meanes to allure some of the capitaynes, or experte warryours, to forsake and fayle theyr master in tyme of nede, promysyng to them great rewardes, makyng large profers, and therwith settyng forth and practisyng thaffabilitie and lowlynesse of theyr capitayne, ceasing not to graunt any demaunde, and also to promysse what thyng soeuer shalbe pleasaunt

saunt or acceptable to them.

¶ Of the badgies of the souldyours. 131.

All the souldyours ought to be knowē by some badge, that the better they maye be discerned from thyne enemyes, lest indifferentlye they beate downe and stryke theyr frēdes as foes. Whych may chaūce where there is no difference of armature and where thy men can not be distinctlye knowen from theyr enemyes, by theyr apparell and cognisaunce.

¶ Of kynges and other prynces that kepe not theyr feyth. 132.

Kynges and other prynces, do somtymes abuse the conditiōs of the lawes of warre and peace, to theyr owne commoditie. Yea rather to theyr priuate lust and pleasure, and haue not theyr eyes vpō iustice, which only they ought to haue in reuerence, and also worshyppe. For what kynge or prynce is there now on dayes, so iust and vncorrupted, whyche wolde not seuen tymes in the day, breake the leage of peace (whyche ought to be vndefyled) surely trustyng therby to occupy and enioye the demaynes of hys enemyes, or at

the

the lest the best parte of hys lordshyppes, wherfore euer haue thy frendes as well as thy foes suspected, & chefely when thy kingdom is in stryfe. For no man is soner deceyued then he whych hath affyaunce in all men. ¶ Wherfore that prince, which is wyse, wyll not commyt hys secretes to an other prince, but only for his safegard The priuities in the herte can not be searched. Also he wyll not suffre anye other prince, to entre into his castelles and holdes, whych he hath fenced, that they may viewe and marke them.

¶ Of the condicion of the common people.

133. The conditions of the common people be very hatefull, whyche couet alwaye to resorte to them, where they trust to haue mooste aduauntage, whych do not setbyne regarde any man for his excellent and hygh vertues, yf there be no hope of profyte, to ryse by hym. Whyche thynge is shamefull to be spoken of, but chefelye to be done. But therfore we must applye vs to ỹ inconstaunt nature of such people allurying and hailyng them, to folowe vs, by feastyng and bankettes. As the fysshe

is

is take̅ with the bayte. Wherfore a wyse capitayne wyll vse no lesse wysdome, to mayntayne the state of hys kyngdome, then he dyd in gettynge it. By this waye he shall kepe vpryght and establysshe all thynges. Otherwyse, he shall bryng all to nought, and a wyser prince shal possesse, and enioye his kyngdome.

¶ Of a certayne kynde of defence. 135

Charrettes set in the earth, before the campe, wyth the wheles dygged depe, & cheyned fast togyther, be a great defence. And this was chefely vsed among many of the auncient souldyours for theyr spedynesse, whych were wonte to cary with them a great nombre of charettes.

¶ Of the swetnesse of aduauntage. 135

Aduauntage maketh those that be cowardes, for the moost party redye to battayle. Wherfore a wyse capitayne ought moche to crake of the spoyle and pillage, whych wylbe great after ỹ victorie, with such riches, that pouertie shal neuer pinch thē after, if they bestow thēself valiaūtly,

in

in this one battayle, and beare them lyke men, thys one daye, the laste daye of all theyr mysery and labour. Wherfore it is the capitaynes dutye, with suche lyke orations to comforte and encourage hys men to be forewarde, fiercelye to fyght, and boldly to stande to it.

136. ¶ Of a troublesome and vnrulye multitude.

A greate multitude of souldyours whyche be barbarous and rude, must be caryed to longe warres, for feare that some sedition do growe amonge them, whyche manye tymes doeth ouerthrowe whole countries. Wherfore the capitayn hedely must foresee, that all causes of sedicion be taken awaye and plucked vp by the rotes. For yf sedition be ones kendled the cytie is lyke to be burned, and all the citizins vtterly confounded.

137 ¶ Of the dutye of a good capytayne.

A valyaunte capitayne wyll be ashamed to be sene alyue, and all his mẽ slayn For with what countenaunce, dare he be bolde to shewe his face, or to preasse into the cõpany of valyaunt capitaynes, whẽ he

he doth suruyue his men being slayne.
yf the battayle was yll fought, who shal be blamed but the capitayne: whiche eyther in an vnegal and inconuenient place dyd pytche his fielde, or elles with a lytle power, rashly gaue battayle agaynst his enemies, which were both mo in nombre and more expert in warres, whych thing is not to be done, but in a great strayte, & vrgent necessitie.

¶ In a newe rendre. 138.

When any prouince or citye haue newly yelded them selues to the capitayne, he shall doo well to pardone all burthens, and charges of the cytye, as to open prysons for them that be in duraunce, and burne bokes of condēnations, and breefely no kynde of humanitie, ne yet of bountyfulnesse is to be forgotten. Wherby the capytaynes gentlenesse and good wyll, maye be knowen, and appeare.

¶ Of the punishment of the capitayne whych forsaketh hys men. 139.

The capitayne that forsaketh his host, and flyeth away, is worthye to be beheeded, in exāple of al other. For more prayse

worthye

worthye, it is to dye in battayle valyauntly fyghtynge wyth greate glorye and renoume, then after for his cowardise with shame, and reproche to lose hys lyfe.

140. ¶ To abstayne from robbyng of temples.

Commaunde your souldyours, that they shunne to spoyle and robbe temples, lest God be offended therwyth. For great hurte and damage chaunceth to an army by suche vnreuerent spoyle of churches, whych for suche mischeuous doinges neuer skaped vnpunysshed, neyther in oure dayes, ne yet in any tyme out of our mind Therfore commaunde your menne to abstayne from the robbyng of temples. For no battayle is so harde to be skaped from as the battayle of God.

141. ¶ To pursue thyne enemyes in the chase.

When thyne enemyes do turne theyr face and flye, then pursue and chase them gredelye, yf there be no suspition of traynes. Do thou not deferre ne yet be slacke, lest they recouer them selues, and ashamed of theyr cowardlye flyght tourne a-

gayne

gayne and cause the to recule, recouerynge the battayle, whyche nowe before was loste. For experyence doeth shewe howe vnprofytable it is, not to take tyme, whē tyme doth serue.

¶ To dissemble retreate and feare. 142.

yf the capitayne shall perceyue anye place conuenyente and mete for the discōfiture of hys enemies, it shalbe not vnprofytable, to dissemble retreate and feare, vntyll he haue trayned and ledde his enemyes thyther. And then let hym set vpon them, on the foreparte, on the backe, and on bothe wynges. Therfore the mooste parte be brought into suche traynes that tarye in holdes, and abyde thassaultes of theyr enemyes, and at the last ben enforced for famine, to pyght fielde in open chāpyon grounde.

¶ what is to be done when great ieopardyes are to be vndertaken. 143.

When great ieopardies ben at hande, which we must by some meane auoyd, thē mete it is, to chose souldyours, whyche bene

ben vnfearfull and couragious to encoũtre wyth theyr enemyes, when we muste imbolden wyth rewardes, and fayre promysses, that gladly they wyll marche forwarde, and not to steppe backe for anye ieopardyes. Also they are to be admonyshed, what prayse and rychesse they shall gette of that victorie. Besydes that we must earnestly affirme, that the only trust and hope of the victorie standeth in them. Wherfore they debatyng all these thynges wyth themselues, and myndefull of theyr former doinges, wyl purpose wyth them selues, to atchyue the victorye, and wynne theyr spurres.

144 ¶ To abstayne from treason.

You capitaynes and souldyours which loke and clymbe for honour, and wyl not indamage and impayre youre name, beware of treason: which is mooste cursed & hatefull. For fyrste you shall haue them, whom you do betraye your deedly foes, and extreme enemies, and they for whom you worke that treason, shall feare and suspect you. Yea and at the laste hate and abhorre the deed, and euer doubtyng, lest you practyse suche traytorus wylyes a-

gaynst

gaynst them, which you haue vsed for the
wherfore yfluche men wyll rebelle, and
departe from theyr capitayne, lette them
yet beware, to cõmyt so heynous a fault,
whych in all ages is mooſt abhominable
for great hatred is gathered of treaſon,
whych faulte is abhorred of all men. The
traytour alſo is hated, boked at with fyn-
ges, and defamed both alyue and deed.
Therfore you maye ſe the frutes of trea-
ſon.

120.

¶ Of the ſageneſſe and eloquence of the capitayne in his orations.

The oration of the capitayne, ſetforth
and ſpoken, wyth weyghtye ſentences, &
apte wordes, is moche cõmendable, and
verye requiſyte. For weyghtye and fete
wordes ſhal make hym prayſed of al men
and taken as the very ymage of vertue, &
wyſdome. Therfore the capitaynes muſt
not in the face of al men, folowe theyr me
rye conceiptes, and vnaduyſedlye ſpeake,
but amonge theyr familyers and nyghe
frendes: yea and then not wantonly and
foolyſhlye. But theyr wordes oughte to
be ſeaſoned wyth ſageneſſe and grauitie,

and eſtemed as the oracles of the goddes.

146. ¶ To refrayne from ſpoyle and pillage before thyne enemies be wholye ſubdued.

Do thou gyue to thyne hooſte a generall commaundement, that they refrayne from ſpoyle and robberye, vntyll thyne enemyes be cõquered, and wholy brought vnder, and a greate penaltie muſt be ſette to the contrarye. For when thy men fall to ſpoyle, and be gyuen to vaũtage, thyne enemyes maye recouer and reſtore theyr ſtrength, and euen now ſubdued, and loſt men ryght agayne, become victours. Wherfore ſo longe as one lyueth, and any parte of theyr ſtrength remayneth, forbydde thy men to gape after praye, leſte the myrth of the victorie be turned to an heuye and ſodayne ſorowe.

147 ¶ To refrayne from burnyng.

After that the cities be taken, and thyne enemyes vanquyſhed and ſlayne, it were vnprofytable to burne and waſte all. For thou mayeſt leaue thoſe cyties to be inhabyted and kept of thy frendes, and hereafter they wil be a great refuge and ſuccour to the. Althoughe the capitayne conſyderynge

tyng the tyme and place, may folowe the aduertysement and rede of hys frendes.

¶Of ayde and succour to be sent to thy neyghbours abbor= derynge on the. 148

yf thy neyghbours be vexed and tour= moyled on euery syde with warres, it is conuenyent and honest to sende them ayd ẏ the sorowful war may rather be bewayled of them, then of the. For to quenche ẏ fyre of thy neyghbours house, is the safegarde of thyne owne. Therfore mete it is neyghbours to be frēdes, when outward warres do noie them, lest thy neighbours hurte and damage lyght also vpon the.

¶what it is to do some valiaunt acte in the syght and face of thyne enemyes. 149

To shewe some token of puisauncie, and do some valyaunt acte in the eyes of thyne enemies, is a great helpe, and moch vayleable, to the gettyng of the victorye, whether it be done by the capitayne or any other souldiours, and also the enuy of hym shall enflame & prouoke other of thy men to enterprice lyke thynges, & the courage of thyne enemies therby shalbe shaked and abated.

And so a fewe valyaunt men, oftentymes haue ben the cause of all victories. Therfore let the capitaine be sure to haue some man baileable in feates and strength. Whych in siguler stryke, and man to mã is bolde, valiaunt, and couragious.

150. ¶ Of lytle power not to be contemned.

A wyse capitayne wyll not be careles, and despyse a lytle armye, although it be but weake, and a small power, whe of a lytle sparke (whyche he wolde not thynke) a great fyre doeth kendle. Wherfore the fyre must be quenched before the flame flasshe out, and all be set on fyre. And lykewyse we muste quenche and ouercome, that litle strength and puisaũce of our enemyes wyth all our endeuoure, lest it waxe and growe bygger, and then without more ieopardye, it can not be wstande. Wherfore it is great follie to neglecte suche thynges, and not in tyme to mete wyth lytle powers, and vtterlye to discomfyte them.

151. ¶ Of slouthfulnesse to be eschued of the capitayne and all other.

All

All capitaynes, souldyours, and other oughte to flye from ydlenesse, euen as frō the pestylence: yea and rather more. For ydlenesse doth destroye the body and the mynde, whych is moost hyest of al thynges, and drowneth the renoume of men, when the pestilence destroyeth onelye the bodye: wherfore all capitaynes and souldyours, do you cast of that sluggyshnesse both in tyme of peace and warre, and flye from it, as from a wylde beast, when she setteth on you in tyme of prosperitie, gyuyng moost deedlye battayle. For cytyes whych neuer coulde haue bene ouerthrowen in tyme of warre, haue bē destroyed, by slougthfulnesse in time of peace, which bringeth with her this mischefe, that not only fooles, but also wyse men be choked vp wyth the stynkyng canells of that vice

¶ To viewe and know the countryes, before thou cary thyne Armye thyther. 152.

A good capitayne wyll be sure diligētly to bewe wyth hys owne eyes, the coūtryes rounde aboute, before that he carye hys armye thyther, and he wyll surelye knowe what waye his men may iourney

mooste saufelye, and where that his enemyes may lye in wayte for hym, or els he for them, and what cyties and townes to destroye by the waye, it shalbe profytable and expedient for him, lest he be deceyued sometyme by espyes, sometyme by ignoraunce, sometyme trapped in theyr traynes and snares.

153 ¶ Of the encrease of thyne empyre.

The dutye of a soueraygne emperour is, in tyme of blysfull peace, to augment and fence his empyre, with the procurement of newe frendes. Asdrebal the wyse kyng of the people of Carthage, was not vnknowen of this. For after the fyrst battayle that he had in Affrike, he enlarged and encreased, the power of Carthage, when he hooked in those that dyd bordre on hym, and purchased theyr fauoure. Wherby thynge all wyse Emperours before this tyme, and in this time also, haue done and do.

154 ¶ The conditions of the capitayne.

The capitayne ought to be bolde in aduentures, and therewyth wyttye, and of moche counsayle. For what cõmoditye is it to

it to haue a capitayne bolde, and the same
foolysh and without counsayle, whē they
both do toyne and iumpe so nere togyther
And also the one nedeth so the helpe of ỹ
other, that for the defaulte of the one, no
man is worthye to be called a capitayne,
but a verye loute and a lobre, and vnwor-
thye that honourable name, whyche also
is lyker to haue a master, then to be a ma
ster. ¶ What is to be done in the 155
beliege of cyties.

It is very profitable in the assiege and
beatynge downe of cyties, to make thys
proclamation amonge the mayne hooste,
by the commaundement of the graunde
capitayne, that all the pillage and prayes
shalbe due to the souldyours. Then they
allured and enflamed wyth the swete de-
syre of vauntage, and strengthened with
the hope of ryches, wyll not be put backe
for anye violence, thoughe it be neuer so
great, but they wyl surely take and beate
downe the cytie. Suche desyre and vnsa
ciable couetousnes of vauntage raygneth
amonge men.

¶ A pollicie to knowe yf thy soldy-
ours be faythfull.

156. yf thy souldyous gently folowe the, from place to place, it is a greattoken and argumente of theyr faythfulnesse.

157. Of the great and huge couetousnesse of the barbarous people.

As the fyshes be taken wyth swete baytes, so the barbarous aliens be plucked and hailed wyth golde, yea & moche soner. For they esteme golde and syluer, moche more then any prayse or renoume, so that the Italions haue great hope to ouercome them for theyr gredye desyre of treasure, although the commyng of warfare and prayse therof, hath euer florished and yet doth amonge the same Italions.

158 How to cary an armye ouer a water thyne enemyes restynge.

It happeneth oftentymes, that algates thou muste carye thyne armye ouer some ryuer, where thyne enemies do resist and withstande thy passage, in whyche case thou muste gette bootes, yf matter and tyme want to make a brydge. But before that tyme farre from the campe of thyne enemyes,

enemyes, aboue or beneth thou muste lye in embushment, a bande of good warryours, couertly, which must come on thyne enemyes priuilye at theyr backes, and lokyng for no suche thyng, when they go about to stoppe and lette thy passage. And this is the best pollicye to carye thyne armye ouer any water.

¶ The comfortable wordes of the capitayne, when hys souldyours be in dispayre. 159.

When thy souldyours do despayre, eyther of the victorie, or of theyr tourneye: A stoute capitayne wyll not ceasse dylygētly to cōfort them, wherby ẏ heuynesse and feare maye be plucked oute of theyr myndes, and they more prest and readye, eyther to fyght or to go on theyr iourney.

¶ Of thy souldiours, worshypfully to be buryed. 160

Yf it happen thy souldyours, to be slayne, thou shalt swage and appeace the angrye hertes of the rest, yf the deed bodyes, be brought worshipfully to burying whereby they shall se by the funeralles, that thou purposed not theyr death, and destruction, but ẏ prayse of that battayle

and

and victorie, wherby they can not but loue and honour so gentle and mercyfull a capitayne that is of suche pytie, then which nothynge is more prayse worthye, ne yet draweth soner the myndes of men, most marueylously and enterelye to loue hym.

161

When the power of thyne enemyes is moche stronger, what thynge is to be done.

Yf thyne enemyes preuayle both in nõbre and puisaunce of men, by no meanes do thou come to handegrypes, ne yet appoynt the to fyght hande to hande, ne yet do thou gyue battayle in pyght fielde. Neuertheless do thou not suffre them to lye quyet, but nyght and daye assayle thẽ busyly, wyth some pyked souldyours, makynge roodes and assaultes, vnto theyr pale, continually renewyng skyrmyshies wyth them, euer shonnynge ioyned battayle. Wyne aduyse also is, when thyne enmyes be very many on the lande, then to take the see, where thou shalte eyther gette the better, or els lose nothynge.

162.

Of hostages.

Receyue hostages and pledges of great men

men from any countrie or cytie, which eyther be sent freelye, or by constraynte, and chefelye where there is any feare of false dealyng and vntrustynesse, whyche be the surest and moost fast bande of theyr loyaltie and faith. For the great loue, which they haue to the pledges, wyl make them to stande to theyr promysse.

¶ To stynt the weapynges and shrykes of women. 163.

The sorowful weapynges of women within the cytie, wyth diligence are to be stopped and stylled. For suche owtecryes and waylefull lamentation of women, lette the souldiours that they cannot take anye counsayle of thynges to be doone in suche vproze and wepynges.

¶ To hyde and couer the slaughter.

A skylful capitayn wyl beare in minde 164.
to kepe close and layne (to his power) frō the reste of hys Armye, the slaughter of hys men, and tourne all to the best, wyth gentle wordes, burnynge them in the night priuyly and vnwares to his army: ther-

therwyth sendyng those that be wounded and maymed, to the cyties thereby which be frendfull to hym, sparyng nothynge, ỹ they maye be healed, and may haue theyr strength restored. And those men whych be nowe hardened, he shall haue in other battayles forwarde, and redye to ieoperd them selues mooste boldlye, at the request of so gentle a capitayne.

165. ¶ To pacify a stronge and valiaunt warryour which is displeased.

If it chaunce any of thy valiaunt souldyours to be wrongfully bled, or suffre any rebukefull reproche, and therwyth to be displeased, it is expedyent wyth fayre wordes, to asswage hys angre, lest as he hath ben valiaunt and wytty on thy part so styrred by displeasure and vnkyndnes worke moche hurte and harme agaynste the.

166. ¶ Wagies are not to be craued when the treasures be spent and wasted.

The dutie of a faythfull capitayne is, and also of the souldyours, when they shall perceyue the treasure to be wasted, to surcesse, and not to desyre theyr wages

For

For so doing they go about and endeuour them selues to betraye theyr lorde. Wherfore they must leaue for a tyme to call for theyr moneye, yf they couette and hunte to haue the fauour of theyr prince.

¶ To passe by lytle thynges that be harde. 167.

Lytle thynges, euen as great thynges whyche be harde, are to be passed by. For the charges be lyke, the praye vnlyke wherfore good it is, to passe by such places, where great labours with expenses must of necessitie be taken, and the profyt therof is lytle or none.

¶ what is to be done of the chiefe capitaynes. 168.

Many thynges there be, whiche are not to be taken in hande, but after that y enterprise is begon, and the assiege attempted, by no meanes they must be leafte of. The proofe of whiche thynge is playne by the wyse Romaine Emperours, whyche besieged the cytie Capua, and ouercame it, tarying there so toughly, that they left the defence of theyr owne countrye, to destroye and vanquish it. Also the huge host of Annibal coulde not plucke them away although

although they wer brought to vttermost despayre, yet nothynge doubtyng ne weryed wyth any labours, wolde not gyue ouer thassaulte, but constauntly continuyng, dyd bryng home a famous victorie with immortall renoume.

169. ¶ To kepe the possessyon of the thyng ones gotten.

Yf thou haue gotten cities or countries, by any meanes do not leue, ne giue them ouer, but kepe them with all diligence. For greater reproch it is, to lose lytle thinges, then at all not to haue wonne them. Also harde it is, to wynne and destroye countryes. Wherfore it were no poynt of wyttynesse vnaduysedly to redelyuer vp, that whiche wyth so greate labours and charges was gotten.

170. ¶ Of the nature and condition of the common people.

The condition of the base and rude people, is piuyth and mutable, eyther wilye and boundely to serue, or elles after a proude and haulte demeanours, to beare rule. Wherfore the multitude neuer iustly ne egally can beare rule and office thorough theyr arrogaunte, stubburne, and

statelye

ſtately conditions, whyche vſe all kynde of crueltie, temperyng and meaſuryng all thynges by theyr fancye, and not by reaſon. Therfore no kyngdome longe can ſtande, guyded and gouerned by the commeners and vnſkylfull people.

¶ Of a multitude of gunners and croſſebowe ſhoters. 171

When for the multitude of gunners, and other ſhoters in croſſebowes, the ſoul dyours can not ſtande ſaulfely on ỹ walles, myne aduyſe is, to make holes, and ſo diſturbe thyne enemyes with arrowes and dartes.

¶ What is to be done when the walles be beaten downe. 172

It happeneth oftentymes, the walles of cyties, to be ſhaken and beaten downe wyth gunnes (that deuilyſh inſtrument) then bulwarkes wyth all ſpede, to kepe backe our enemyes muſt be made, wyth turrettes of wood, and ouerthwarde trenches fylled vp with ſharpe pyles, wherby thaſſiege on that part may be more harde through the ſtronge munimentes, then it was before.

What

¶ What is to be done in the
173. slackyng of cities.

When the citie begynneth to slacke, it must be vanquyshed with the swoorde.

174. ¶ To set vpon the campe of thyne enemyes not warely kepte.

Best it is, thyne enemyes negligentlye kepynge watche and warde, not by daye tyme but by nyght to set vpon and inuade them. For then without questiō the fyght shall not be harde, when thyne enemyes ouerthrowen and halfe deed with sleape and wyne, whyther to go or what to do, sodaynlye wakened, shall not knowe, ne yet shall perceyue the cause of that brute and disturbaunce, before they be strycken downe, taken, and slayne.

¶ What is to be done in slowe
175 and slacke siege.

When thy souldyours cowardly and wyth hollowe hertes, nothynge freshlye fyght, plucke the standart from the standart bearer, and flynge it amonge thyne enemyes, then after exhorte and desyre them, not to suffre suche a shame and reproche, that theyr enemies shal kepe thier standart. Then take thou a weapon, and com-

commaunde the best warryours to folow the to wynne agayne theyr standarte, maiyng a lane wyth moche violence.

¶ Of lytle thynges not to be despysed. 176

Nothyng is of so lytle valewe, which in warre wyll not do some seruyce. Therfore an expert capitayne wyll contempne nothyng, although it be lytle worth.

¶ Of warre on the see. 177.

In warre on the see, the full wynde is the great parte of the victorie.

¶ Of great perylles scaped and auoyded by rashnesse and foolehardynesse. 178

It sometome chaunceth, thyne armye to be in greate ieopardye, and so enclosed and set aboute, ý vnpossible it is to scape away. Then the capitayne must vse some sodayne and vnaduysed meane, that by rashnesse the victorye may be ieoparded, whē wittinesse can not helpe, whichthing hath luckely chaunced to many capitayns discōfited with vttermost perilles. Such force is in rashnesse.

¶ Of a certayne kynde of defence. 179.

When thy campe can not be wel defēded for the open barenesse of ý place, mine aduise is, to make the fortresses of fardels

whyche kynde of defence, although it be not good, yet it maketh a face and shewe. wherby thyne enemyes for a tyme feared wyth the noueltie of the thynge, wyll recule, and not hastelye marche forewarde.

¶ Where thyne enemyes preuayle in horsemen.

180 Yf thyne enemyes be wel horsed, and thou woldest gladlye make a fraye wyth them moued eyther by some profyte, or elles constrayned by nede, this is my best counsayle, that eche of the horsemen, haue wyth them swyfte and nymble fote men, which quycklye, can mount vpon an horse, and so lyuerly lyght downe, so that whych to other men appeareth harde, is to them through customes lyght and but a tryffle. This kynde of fyght was begonne at the siege of Capua.

¶ To rayse the siege of any cytye.

181. Yf thou purpose to rayse and moue the siege from thyne owne cytyes, then fiersely laye siege to some cytie of thyne enemye. For when they endeuour to succoure and rescue theyr owne cytye, they wyll

wyl sone departe from thyne. And so they then that be not able to kepe & ayde theyr owne cytyes, by strength, do saue them well, by siege made to the cytyes, of theyr enemyes.

¶ Of cyties yeldynge them selues. 182

Those cyties whych wyllyngly yelde, and gyue vp thẽselues vnto vs, although we be not able to defende them, it is not conuenyent to spoyle and pylle them, or to vexe them with any wronges, but rather with bountyfulnesse and humanitie, to entreate and vse them, that althoughe that great gentlenesse shall not moue and tendre theyr stomake, yet that deede worthye the memorie of men, shall be further knowen. By whyche other cyties moued hereafter, wyll yelde the soner.

¶ How necessarye warly comyng is to souldyours. 183.

The knowledge of martial feates doth moche imboldẽ and encourage both souldyours and their capitaynes. For suche men do knowe to helpe theyr selues, and can take tyme to strycke theyr ennemyes, wythoute hurte.

And except theyr enemyes be skylfull and experte, as they be (the battayle not ioyned) they be assured of the victorye, in whose bolde hertes, strength so moche encreaseth, and they stylly stande in fight to obtayne the victorie. But this science as it is gotten and assured by exercyse, so is it lost by negligence.

184 ¶ Great victories ben eschued with fewe and expert souldiours.

Yf thou endeuoure thy selfe to do famous and baliaunte actes, take to the a fewe, and those pyked souldyours, wel exercised in warre, and hardened in laboure with whome thou mayest discomfyte, at thy pleasure, the vnskylfull multitude of thyne enemyes. But yf thou trust to do ỹ same thyng with an huge garrisõ, which be rude, and hauing no skyll, thou shalt be trapped of thy purpose, and shamefullye destroyed, and therewith taken in thyne owne trayne.

185 ¶ Of yonge men to be chosen.

Yonge men ought to be chosen for soldyours which be tall and stronge, whych can suffre hungre, thyrste, and lye on the grounde, whiche also haue a pleasure, to handle

handle weapons, to fyght, takyng it for a sporte and game. Suche fellowes lustye and stronge, be lyke to become valiaunte and expert warryours, whose helpe thou mayest be assured to vse in great ieopardyes, and all thynges shal chaunce to thy desyre and mynde. Therfore diligent care and wysedome is requyred in chosynge & takyng vp souldyours.

¶ What men they shoulde be to whome the kepynge of countries and cities is commytted. 186.

We must warely foresee to what men we cõmyt the kepyng of prouinces, and cities, and whome we make our lieutetenauntes, and that they be ryche and auncyent cytizins, of our owne cytie, hauyng chyldren thryfty and disposed to vertues For such men vndoubtedly wold be fayth full and loyall, in whome no suspition of treason is to be feared, which wolde be reprocheable and shamefull to them, and theyr posteritie, ne yet any falsehode is to be demed or mistrust in them.

¶ Of the maner of fyghtynge. 187.

Cause thy souldyours to foyne contynually, and not lay on downryght, which

foyce of fyghtynge is moche dreaded of thyne enemyes, cheifelye yf the foynes be cast at the face. These woundes ben vncurable, and the wounded haue moze nede of a preeste then of a surgyon. But yf thy men haue bastarde swordes, or twohanded swordes, vsed in the east partyes, lette them gyue downryght strokes. For those swordes be so deedlye, that lyghtlye they wyll stryke of the heed, cleaue the bodye, and dismembre all partes.

188. ¶ In what place best it is to lodge thyne armye.

Campe thy souldyours so nere as thou canst, in places where fodder, water, and fewel is abundaunt, that thy souldiours maye haue plentye, withoute any stop or entercourse of theyr enemyes. Beware also to pitche thy pauilyons and tentes vnder an hyll, lest thyne enemyes (vnwares to the) take and occupye the hylle, to thy greate discomfyture. Do thou also forsee that thyne armye, be not lodged in places whyche wyth raynes and brookes wyll be shortly ouerflowed, or where the bankes maye be cutout to drowne thyne armye, or at the leest thy catall and other vi-

tayles.

tayles. Prouyde therwyth not to tarye, and kepe the hoste, there where is al playnes, and champion grounde, for the daũger of gũnes. But to be brieue I can gyue no sure rule where to lodge thyne armye. For the place and tyme must chaũge thy purpose, in which case the wittynesse of ỹ capitayn, & knowledge, is moch requyred

189.

How to make stronge the campe with fortresses, thyne enemyes assaultynge the.

Yf thyne enemyes ben at hande, and nedes the cãpe must be fortifyed, set abrode a fewe horsemen, and a greater garryson of fotemen readye to withstande & dryue awaye thyne enemyes, vntyll thy fences & fortresses be wholy done, and then conuey them by lytle and litle into thy campe By whych meane thyne enemyes shal be mocked, and thy mẽ shal afterward more sykerly raunge forth, and thyne enemyes whyche euen now reioysed as victours, shalbe dryuen awaye with shame.

190

To take our subiectes rather then straungers for souldyours.

Wete it is rather to rayse and assẽble an army of thyne owne mẽ thã of straũgers,

whome thou shalt haue faythfull and re-
dye in all peryls, which hauyng theyr cou
trye, parentes, chyldren, kynsemen & frend-
des, in remembraunce, wyl not gyue back
ten tymes in the daye to daunger theyr ly
ues. In whiche mynde all kynges & prin-
ces be (excepte the wyse and ryche Vene-
tians) that they wolde rather take theyr
owne men, then outpeople and aliens.

191. ¶ What is to be done in thassemble
and takyng vp of souldyours.

When we purpose to make battayle,
expedyent it is to forsee and surely know
in what places the thyng is to be done.
For yf we muste trauayle in hyllye and
rough places, our armye must be garnyl-
shed, moche more with fotemen, thā horse
men. And the horsemē also must be lyght
harnessed, that wyth more ease they maye
clymbe vp, and lykewise come downe the
hylles, yf neade be to fyght on fote. But yf
we must warre in playne and champyon
countryes, then horsemen be mooste neces-
sarye. For fotemen wyll stande in lytle
steade and vse. These thynges be spoken,
not without some cōsyderation, whē in ỹ
assemblie of an armie kynges and princes

ben at great charges, & somyme in bayne.

¶ To kepe thyne armye healthfull. 192

The health of thyne Armye is mayntayned by exercyse, by healthsome countrie and swete ayers: but chefelye where is plentye and abundaunce of bytayles. For of famyne the plage sometyme doeth come, when men for wante and defaulte of bytayles, be dryuen to eate vnhealthsome and corrupted meates.

¶ what is to be done when waters 193.
can not be waded ouer.

Where the water is so depe, that neyther fotemen ne yet horsemen dare venture ouer: best it is to turne the water into dyches out of the wont course, & great streame, by whyche meane the water beinge fallen, thyne armye maye wade and passe ouer.

¶ To chastice and agrieue thyne
enemyes hoste. 194

It is a good pollicie by hungre, rather then by weapon and incurtions, to banquyshe thyne enemyes. For nothynge is more profytable, ne yet more prayseworthye, then by vnbloudye battayle to ioyne the mastrye. But take hede lest thyne enemyes,

myes, thus sterued, and tamed, with hõger: do prouoke them by some dysplea-sures to battayle. But then lye stylle, wyth thyne armye, and refrayne from anye assaultes, or bykerynges, vntyl theyr vitayles be wholly spent.

¶ To knowe yf any spyes lurke among thy souldiours.

195. ¶ Although it be verye hard in a greate armie, to knowe the lurkyng spies, yet I wylle shewe some wayes, not vnprofitable, of whych this shalbe one. Oftẽtymes to serche and viewe thy registre, & if there be any not registred, and wrytten, it is a great token, those to be spyes. And also yf any of them that be regestred, do carye tydynges & thy endeuours to thother part, then nedefulle it is, to stoppe and besette wayes, passages, and woodes, by nyght and daye, to take and to carye them to the capitayne there to be racked, yea and yf any do wander owte of the campe, the capitayne not commaundyuge, they shal be taken gyltye of petitreason. It shall be therefore, the offyce of a capitayne dayly to beholde aboute hys armie, bothe by hym selfe and other trustye and beleueable soul-

ble souldyers, and marke men by theyr face, by whych policye he shall knowe the tyme yf any of hys souldyours abode. The capitayne also muste commaund al men to take theyre lodgyng by day lyght, and to be in theyre tentes, and yf any shal be suspect, than take and imprison them, by torment also constraynyng them to tel theyr intentes, cõmandes, and charges.

¶ To kepe close theyr counsayles.

Let the capitayne debate and discusse, wyth the wytty and experte warryours, nowe and agayne, what is to be done. But what he wyll do, let hym disclose, & to discouer that to fewe, depelye wayeng the thynge, wyth hym selfe, by whych policie he shal neuer attẽpte, ne enterpryse, anye matter boydelye, whan hys endeuours, and assayres be vnknowen, and conceled: but by all wayes he shall haue hys owne delyre. 196.

¶ The oration of the capytayne to hys hoste whã they be marchig forthe to fyght.

The hoste

197 The hoste bauncyng towarde battayl, the capitayne ought to speake these wor-des: that wyllynglye he wyll seke hys owne death, excepte he bryng with hym the victorie, which wordes wonderfully wyll moue and arrayse theyr hertes, and chiefely yf they loue and haue hym in any reuerence, so that for his wont gentlenes and largesse, they wyll put theyr lyues in daũger to gette hym the glory & renoume coueytynge theyr death wyth hys death. Wherfore lette the capitayne shewe and persuade to hys companye, that hys lyfe, death, and renoume, doo stande in theyr manlynesse and handes.

198. ¶ To take thyne enemyes by wyles.

Myne aduyse is, to sende forth thyne vnable souldyours, sorye felowes & most vnprofytable, to be as a bayte, praye, and entysement to thyne enemyes, which pro uoked and allured to take them prisoners or elles vtterlye to slee them, ryght waye maye be catched and trayned in snares. For they then gladsom of the lytle mastry disordrelye wyll (as victours) folowe the pursute and chase farreof, kepynge none

arraye

arraye. By which couyne and trayne, ma-
nye haue bene deceyued: whyche policye
was not vnknowen of the Easte souldy-
ours, whych dyd let loose theyr horses to
straye amonge theyr enemyes, and they
coueytyng to steale the horses, were take
and slayne.

¶ What is to be done wyth capty- 199.
ues and prisoners.

It is not good to kylle the captyues,
and prisoners, but to kepe them to tillage
and those chefelye that be burlye, carter-
lyke, and fytte thereto. For what profyte
can come of theyr death, when yf they be
kepte on lyue, we maye vse them in hus-
bandrye: and of theyr labours get greate
encrease and aduauntage. Which thyng
hath bene done of many kynges and prin-
ces. And the Turke doeth at this tyme in
drugerye and mooste vyle occupations,
kepe as slaues and bondmen, a great nō-
bre of chrysten men (Alas to the reproche
and shame of Chrysten princes) knowing
hys armye can not be nourysshed, wyth-
out the frutes of the grounde whyche be-
inge soulde, hys souldyours therby haue
and receyue theyr wagies, knowyng also

famyne

famyne to be noyouse, and worse then a plage, to hys hoste: whyche destroyeth cities, countreyes, and townes.

¶ To fynde swete water and freshe.

1000. Abowte the sea bankes, freshe water is founde, also in the mydde lande, and places farre from the sea, wher shrubbes do growe. Mete it is, the capytayne to haue knowledge of these thynges.

¶ Of nyght battayle.

1001. If thou fyghte, in the nyghte tyme: profytable it is to haue the moone, on thy backe. For soo thyne enemyes, shall not well warde, ne escape the strokes, of thy men. For the lyghte, and also for the false vmbrage, whych the Moone doth shewe fourthe.

¶ Of the dewetye of the capitayne in excersyssyng hys soul-dyours.

1002. Nedefulle it is, for a capytayne to knowe, before he come to battayle, that bothe hys horsemen, and also hys foote men, rude in the cunnyng of warre, must be

be daylye exercysed. For theyr vnskylfulnesse is the great destructiō, of the whole hoste, when they knowe not howe for to kepe theyr arraye, nę yet what to do, but lyke men astonyshed, voyde of all warlye knowledge, and nowe to learne the feates of warre, in whose hand the chyfe parte of the battayle doth stand, begynne to staye and proffer theyr backes.

¶ Of the dewtye of the graunde cappytaynes in battel.

Kynges and prynces, (the counsayle lours of the weale publyke, for the tyme dismissed) muste calle vnto them, actyfe, and experte warryoures, and vse theyr counsayles, in warlye assayzes, not doynge anye thynge, rashlye, agaynst theyr aduertisement, of whyche thynge Pompeyus maye be an example, that for hys knowlege of warre, deserued to be called (magnus) great or noble, which whē he warred agaynste Cesar, was costrayned by the Senate, to chaunge hys pourpose 1003.

and to

and to vse an other waye, then he wyth hym selfe had decreed, or elles the commyng of warre requyred: wherby it chaũced that he was vanquyshed wyth hys frendes mooste shamefullye.

ICO4. Of the sotemen, and sygne of battayle.

The tentes redde, be foretokens of battayle to come, and sygnes of the victorye, wyth the bloodsheddyng of thyne enemyes.

FINIS
libri primi.

The second boke.

¶ The Proheme of the seconde boke, vnto the lawes of warre.

IT nowe remayneth, that in fewe wordes we playnelye shewe and opē what lawes, the graunde capitaynes and also ỳ peticapitaynes ought to vse agaynst the defaultes of their souldyours, not onelye in tyme of warre, but also of peace. For without mans iustice and equitie, not armyes onelye, kyngdomes and lordshyppes, but also lytle countryes can not longe contynue, and kepe theyr egall estate, suche strength and vertue is in iustice and equitie. Therefore it shall not be moche vnprofytable, here shortly to shewe, what I haue founde in the Romayne lawes, and also what thinges ben obserued and vsed nowe in these dayes, in the punyshment of souldiours, whyche maye be taken for a lawe, so that

there shalbe none in the whole army, that can saye the capitayne to haue wronged and iniured hym.

2. ¶ Of them that yelde theyr selues to theyr enemyes.

Yf any yelde theyr selues to thyne enemyes, hauynge no iust and vrgent cause, the hygher he is in hys degree, the sorer let hym be punysshed. And for this cause that the other souldyours and theyr capitaynes take none example of hym (the chaunce of the battayle not tryed) to yeld them selues to theyr enemyes.

3. ¶ Of an outstrayer.

He that leaueth and strayeth from his owne companye, muste be punysshed by the purse, or els lose hys place, or be sende forth abrode lyke a slaue, that he maye be an example to other, not to straye oute of ordre.

¶ Of a spye or outryder.

4. A spye whyche wyll be entysed, at the requeste of hys enemyes, and so leaue hys capitayne, is worthy to be beheeded, and that iustlye. For the saulfetye and destruction of the whole hoste doeth lye in hym.

Wherfore

wherfore hys punyshment muste be the greater.

¶ Of ronneawayes and landeleapers. 5.

They that rounne to theyr enemyes, & then after returne, must be hanged. He also that is purposed to flye, and in ỹ meane tyme intertaken, is worthye to be beheeded. Whiche lawe amonge oure souldyours now on dayes is put in vre, but not afore.

¶ Of them that lose theyr harneys. 6.

He that loseth his harneys in battayl or shall alienate them, must chaunge hys place, but he that stealeth others, must be put out of his souldyourshyppe.

¶ Of them that do thynges prohybited, and kepe not the lawes and decrees proclaymed. 7.

He that shal do any thyng forbydden of the capitayne, and therwyth doeth not kepe hys commaundementes, must be beheeded: although the thynge be not well done. Also yf he steale into the campe, by walles or ditches, dryuẽ by no great feare he is worthye the same punyshment.

¶ Of them that rayse vp sedicion. 8.

They that styrre vp anye sedition, are mooſt worthye to be beheeded, but yf the ſedicion ſhal come of ſome light cõplayne then put them out of theyr place of ſouldyourſhyppe, whych fyrſt dyd moue that buſyneſſe.

¶ Of a legion reculynge.

9. Yf any legion gyue backe, let them loſe the name of chiualrye for euer.

10 ¶ Of banyſhed perſonage.

Banyſhed perſonnes intromyttynge theyr ſelues to be taken vp as ſouldiours muſt be beheaded for the dignitie of chyualrye.

11. ¶ Of hym that is ſentforth lyke a ſlaue.

He that is ſente awaye lyke a drudge, for the glorye of chiualry, muſt not be receyued as a ſouldyour agayne, that the renoume of chiualry therby be not impaired.

¶ Of them that be iudged to dye.

12. They that be iudged to dye, for ỹ ſclaũder that runneth on them, muſt not be taken in and receyued.

13. Of them that ſteale ỹ youth of chiualrie

He that ſhall ſteale yonge ſcholers in ỹ feates of warre, in tyme of warre, muſte be

be eryled, and lose parte of hys goodes in tyme of peace, he must be beaten with staues or kytgels.

¶ Of hym that maymeth a yonge souldyour. 14.

He that maymeth a yonge souldyour of chiualrie, is worthye banyshment.

¶ Of hym that leaueth hys compagnie. 15.

An horseman that leaueth hys compaynye in tyme of warre, deserueth heedyng and in tyme of peace to lose his roume.

¶ Of them that rebell. 16.

He that doeth offre violent handes to any of the capitaynes, is worthy heeding and that fault is augmented by the state and honour of the capitayne.

¶ Of disobedience and sturdynesse. 17.

Disobedience agaynst the graunde capitayne, or peticapitayne, is worthy heedynge.

¶ Of hym that flyeth. 18.

He that fyrste tourneth his face in the battayle to the example of other, deserueth heedyng. For by suche cowardly and hollowehearted felowes, thyne enemyes be comforted and encouraged, and thyne

owne men discouraged and afrayed. Wherby it happeneth oftentymes, thyne armye retreatynge to be dryuen downe & slayne: wherfore this penaltie is iustlye ordeyned for suche heauye hertes.

¶ Of spyes and scoutwatches.

19. Espials whych reuele and open thy secretes to thyne enemyes, be ranke & hygh traytours. Wherfore to haue theyr heed chopped of, is theyr mete punyshment. Also those whyche dissemble sykneſſe, for anye feare, be worthye the same punyshment.

20. ¶ Of hym that woundeth hys felowe.

Choppe of hys heed that woundeth his felowe with a swoorde, and thrust him out of hys roume, that hurleth a stone at hys felowe: lest of suche braulynges some sedicion do ryse.

21. ¶ Of runneawayes and traytours.

Cause runneawayes and traytours to be racked, before they suffre heedynge, to knowe yf they haue not other felowes, priuye and alied to the same conspiracie.

¶ In what places thy souldyours

shall

shalbe forbydden to bye thy bytayles. 22.

Forbydde and restrayne, thy souldyours to bye theyr vitayles, in those places where they kepe warre, lest the countrye men be constrayned rather for feare, then for a iust price, to sel theyr wares, and lest that by dayntye fare, thy souldyours be slacke in theyr feates of chiualrye.

¶ Of them that leaue nyght watche. 23.

Beheede them that leaue the nyght watche, whiche puny shment is nedefull, when not only the capitayne, but also the whole armye deepely and soundly sleape, in the eyes of the watche, and the diligẽce of the watche, is the foretresse and defẽce of thyne armye. What thyng therfore is more shamefull and cruell then to betray and slee the whole army slepynge, and takyng theyr rest after theyr werye trauayles and busynesse.

¶ Of them that scape out of prison. 24.

He that scapeth oute of prison, is not lykened to ronneawayes. For that was done to saue hys lyfe, which thyng nature hath graunted to all beastes.

¶ Of a ronneagate or strydlande.

25. A ronnegate brought agayne, by hys father, is to be punyshed more gently, thã by the heed.

26. ¶ Of the tyme appoynted by the capitayne.

He that doeth not repayre to hys compayne by the tyme appoynted, without a lawfull excuse, is to be taken and accompted a ronnegate.

27. ¶ Of a disturber of the peace.

Punysshe by heedyng that souldyour, which bringeth thyne army in an vprore

28. ¶ When thy souldiours be in theyr iourneye.

Souldiours which be taken vnwares and sodaynly (theyr former lyfe wel knowen) are worthye pardone.

29. ¶ Of them that scatre out of the cõpany.

They that wandre from theyr company are worthy to be kidgelled or lose their place. ¶ Of a captyue.

30. yf any of thy men that is taken prisoner wolde not returne when he mought, recken hym for a ronneawaye, but yf he returne, receyue hym: yf it be sure that he was taken agaynst hys wyll, and ranne not thyther.

Of

¶ Of them that forsake the capytayne.

He that doth not helpe and defend hys capytayne, whan he maye, or leaueth hym whan he is enuironed & set abowte wyth enemyes, is worthye to be hanged on a payre of gallowes. 31.

¶ Of gonners on horsebacke.

It shal not be vnprofitable to acquaynten and wount your horses, as the duchmen do, to suffer the sytter whyche is a gunner and not to be affrayed therof. For no sorte of souldyers, is more prophytable thã they nor yet doth more myschife and hurte. For no man is so well harnayled, that can be saulfe from them: such a violence is in that warlye iustrumente. 32.

Of gunnes called serpẽtines wyth other.

It shall be very profitable to haue many wagons & charettes laden with gons for there is none armye so strong, whom they wyll not destroye, so that horses & men far of be slayne, wyth them. Also the great sounde shal so feare men, that their strength and courage shal fal and decay. 33.

¶ Of a profitable defence of the campe.

34. A greate defence for thy campe, shalbe to haue manye wagons and carres, shod wyth yron, and aboue those turrettes of wood fylled wyth serpentines and other kyndes of gonnes, whyche is the sureste defence for thy campe.

¶ To gyue thankes and prayse to god after the victorye.

35. Because we be pourposed to leaue nothynge in this booke vntouched, whych is to be requyred, in warlye knowlege, eke in the connynge of chyualdrie. Therefore comelye it is the head leader of the armye, (the victory ones atchyued and gotten) humblye to rendre and gyue prayse, euerlastynge, wyth hys whole hoste, to the lyuynge lorde, that he of his vnspeakeable and omnisufficient mercye, in other battayles, wolde be mercyful, and good vnto them, for wythout the helpe succour and strength of the Lorde, mans power is vnable and nothyng. And yf the lyuing god, shalbe wyth vs, & fyght on our syde, what can the swordes of oure ennemyes hurte or harme vs. Therefore the chyefe-

tayne

tayne or graunde capytayne, (no tyme let passe, ne no tariaunce made) & his whole armye, wyth a pure sincere and vnfained herte ought to gyue thankes to the Lord offerynge vp wyth a faythefulle mynde, wherwyth god is pleased.

Whether it be lawful for chrysten men to make and styr vppe battayle.

Leaste that some men, readynge thys my booke, shoulde doubte whether it be lawful for chrysten men to styr vp battayl whan that man slaughter, captiuitye, rauyne, deflowrynge of maydēs, and take demaynes, do folowe thereof. To plucke thys fansie oute of theyr mynde, let them knowe in fewe woordes that warfare is no syn, but he that kepeth batayle, highly pleaseth the Lorde, wyche thynge doth playnlye apere by holy George, and Dauid the electe prophete of god, and by the battayle & turnamēt of Centurio. I leue of the testimonies of saynt Gregory, & other sayntes, which do say & affirme, that god is not displesed w warre. But what shal I saye of the vndowted, & vnfallible sayenge of Chryste, which commaundeth 36.

trybute

tribute to be payde to Cesar, that he may haue to bestowe on hys souldyers, and so to kepe the worlde in peace and quyet, the whyche peace, god the rewarder of all faythefull hath lefte here behynde hym, the onlye pawne, and pledge of hys mercyfull goodnes. Shall we therfore dysproue chrysten warrefare, of whyche we haue suche a commoditye: The souldyours also ought to be content, wyth their wages, and not to craue more than their duetye is. But that suche menne, maye wyth greate prayse and glorye, kepe battayle, mete it is these qualityes and vertues, to appere and shyne in them.

¶ Fyrste that he be a temporall man, actyue and valiante. For the defence of hys contreye, and iustyce, castynge no peryls, expert and cunnynge in warlye feates, sober and temperate in lyuynge, prompte to do all thynges, reasonable, sowthefast and faythfull, wyttye, mercyfull: and of good hope. If these thynges shalbe in the capitaynes, and rulers, what can be blamed in them: be they not then acceptable vnto god.

They

They that go on warfare, do leaue theyr iewels behynde at home.

When we go forth to battayle, good 37.
it is to carye nothynge wyth vs, that is of any valewe, excepte oure horses, and harnays, none yet to leaue any thynge in the campe, and tentes, least oure enemies be thereby strengthed and encouraged to fyghte for the hope & desyre of that pray. For all men be endewed wyth thys of nature, that for ryches and vauntage sake, they thynke all perylles lyght and easye, all labours a playe and sporte. Therfore do we leaue our ryches at home, least vnwyllynge we gyue mattyer and occasyon to our enemyes to fyght, and so of dasterdes, make them bolde: of cowardes, coragyouse.

¶ To make the water noysome and vnhealthsome to thyne enemies.

If we couet to make the water poison 38.
full to oure enemyes, it shall not be vnprofytable, to cast a great quantity of wood, broken and brused a sonder, in the vpper

parte of

parte of the streame, whereby the water shall be bytter to the tast, that neyther mẽ ne horses maye drynke of it.

¶ In what place the battayle is to be fought.

39. The chyefetayne muste forsee and prouyde, that hys men maye haue a water behynde theyr backes, to refreshe and water theyr horses, and hys ennemies none, by whyche meane forsothe, he shall carye away the maystry, whan hys enemies, & theyr horses wery ed by longe trauayle, and fyght, can haue no refreshment.

¶ To kepe the citie besyeged in faythe and constancie.

40. Oftẽtymes it chaunceth, cities to be besyeged, and therwyth to suffer greate famyne and honger (thonly tamer of men) ouer theyr huge & paynfull watchynges in the same syege, whyche al do cause the cities rather and ryght waye to gyue vp, and yelde, except the capitayne by his policie, wyth fayre wooردes and exhortacions, do kepe the citizens in sure fayth and cõstancie dissemblynge & faynyng manye thynges. In example and proofe whereof I wyll note some thynges hereafter that

capy-

capitaynes instructed wyth my lessons, maye serche mo wayes, to kepe the citie, to theyr kynge or prince, obeysaũt & fayth full. Wherfore fyrst the capitayne, ought to feyne letters, sente from hys lord wher in he is promysed, in shorte space to haue more ayde and succoure. And yf he shall perceyue them wauerynge, and bente to yelde vp, he muste go about at some tymes, to perswade them, by orations decked & garnysched wt art, and pyked reasõs to plucke them from such a mischyfe, promysyng them all libertye. Than after let hym also laboure, that letters fastened to shaftes, maye be cõueyed by nyght, to the batelyng of towres in whyche some cityzen is admonyshed by some good frend of hys, in the armye of theyr enemies, not to yelde and gyue vp the citye. For theyr capitayne is disceyptefull, and worketh all by couyne and craft whych (although his promises be fayne) is mynded wyth fiere and swoorde, to destroye the whole citie. And suche other thynges are to be feyned, whyche appere trouthlyke, that the countenaunce of the syege, maye not be greuous to the citizens.

To

¶ To scape oute of a narrowe place.

41. It chaunceth oftentymes, thyne army wanderynge in hyllye countryes, to entre into some narrowe and strayte place, besette couertlye, with thyne enemyes. Where, what to do, or whyther to turne, thy men doe not well knowe: wherfore a skylful capytayne, must thus prouyde, ꝑ yf he be not of power to dryue hys enemies, from thense by strength, let hym daye and nyghte seche, when they be wythout watch, and then sodaynlye, and vnloked for, rushe vppon them. At other tymes, let hym fayne despeyre, and retrace backe in many skyrmysshes, layenge some pyked and actyue warryours, in couerte embushemente.

¶ Of bowes.

42. Fotemen with bowes, whych englysh men vse: do greate seruyce in an host. For there is no breste plate, whyche is able to wythstand, and holde owte the stroke of the arrowes, suche force and vyolence is in bowes.

¶ Of the owtragyouse assault of thyne enemyes.

yf thyne enemyes that be horsemen, be within a myle, and do come towarde the outragiously (the reynes of theyr horses beinge let slacke) staye there. And yf they be fotemen and be within halfe a myle, stande styll, and gredelye receyue them, pantyng for werynesse, hertynge thy men boldly to fyght, and to gyue manye a sore stroke, which thyng maye be done, when thyne enemyes be weryed. 43.

¶ To foresee the place rounde about, where the battayle shall be. 44.

Bewaare to gyue battayle, except thou haue before diligently viewed, by thy selfe and thyne espyals, yf there be any ieoperdye of traynes and gyles, lest thou ouerthrowe thy selfe. When thyne enemyes at what tyme thou arte mooste earnestlye set to fyght, shall oppresse the sodaynlye, eyther on thy backe, or elles on thy syde: where thou shalt yelde thy selfe banquyshed and taken, bycause the defaulte cannot be escaped ne holpen, and al through thyne vnwarenesse.

¶ To set vpon thyne enemyes in theyr iourneye. 45.

yf we can knowe what waye our enemyes wyll take theyr voyage and iourneye, it shall not be vnprofytable, spedelye to preuent them, and gettynge a place conuenyent to lye in wayte, and set vpon them vnwares, lokyng for no such thyng For then vndoubtedly, easye it is to ouermatche and conquere thyne enemyes.

46. What is to be done when our enemyes ouermatche vs in force.

It chaunceth to haue suche men, oure enemyes whose force and strength vneth or not at all we ben able to susteyne: wherfore myne aduyse is to entreate the force of our enemyes, and beseche ayde & succour at theyr handes, or to seke for helpe of them that borde on vs, and bene oure neyghbours, warnyng them dyuers wayes of the ieopardye that is at hande of theyr lordshyppes, and yf the soner they do not aide and releue them, they can not but yelde and submyt theyr selues, which thyng shalbe also great damage to them For the downefall and burnynge of thys house, is the fyrematche of the nexte.

what

¶ what is to be done when we do fyght in straites. 47.

yf bothe the hostes mete and ioyne in strayte places, and neythet wyll recule, one fote, but stylly endure the fyght, then myne aduyse is, the cheftayne (takynge a certayne of hys stronge and weyghtye souldyours) to assayle hys enemyes commyng on theyr backe, or one the one wing although the passage be daũgerous and longe: whereby certes he shall attayne a prayse worthye victorie, wyth lytle losse or none, of his men.

¶ Of ouermoche confidence. 48.

yf we haue gotten thupper hande, of parte of our enemyes, it is not good to cõtinue the battayle, trustynge in our puissaunce, and so hope on a greater victorye, lest we put in hasarde what we haue gotten, encountrynge with the whole hoste, whych were fondely and rashly done.

¶ Of the capitaynes cõmaundement that no man take any prisoner. 49.

yf we purpose and trauayle to gette a notable conquest of our enemyes, the capytayne ought to commaunde, vnder

a greate penaltye, to hys men, that they take no prisoner, ne captyue, vntyl he shal gyue some token of the same, which policie is not the worst. For the souldyours shall then lose no tyme, about captyues, but shall wyth al theyr force put to flight beate downe, and kylle theyr ennemyes. Whyche doue, hereafter the capytayne maye gyue the sygne of praycatchynge.

¶ Not to departe from the place appoynted.

50. Peticapitaynes be wonte oftentymes, bycause they wolde be iudged valyaunte and skylfull, to departe from the place appoynted, in hope of some praye, and pyllage: whyche thyng hath ben the cause of great slaughter, in many battayles, and the losse of victorie: wherfore the peticapitaynes must learne to be obeysaunt to the commaundement of theyr capitaynes, & not to seme more wytfull then they be.

¶ That the tentes be not leafte vndefenced.

51. When the capitayne shal displaye and aduaunce his baners to battayl, let hym beware that he leaue not his campe vndefenced

defenced, and vnmaymed leſt when he is mooſte enforced to fyght, his vytayles be deſpoyled, his campe ſet on fyre, (as it is lyke to be) and after he ſhall haue no ſuch place ſo defenced, vnto his great damage and hynderaunce.

¶ Of thyne enemyes fallyng in baryaunce and ſtryfe. 52.

Yf the capitaynes of thyne enemyes do not well agree, it is then expedyent, before they fall to an onement and concorde intermyttyng no tyme to aſſaulte them. For the mayſtrye then wyll be lyghtlye wonne, when not one, of a ſtubburne ſtomake wyll conſent and agree to thothers aduertyſement. But had leauer to be ſubdued of his enemyes, then cõquere by the pollicie of hys foode.

¶ Let thy men be redye in harneys, thyne enemyes lying at hande. 53.

Yf the campe of thyne enemyes be pytched nygh vnto the, ſuffre by no meanes, not for anye fayre woordes of thyne enemyes, nor promyſſe of truce and alience, that thy men ben out of harneys (chiefely the beſt part ne yet y thy ſouldours, neglect watche and warde. For not ſeldome

tymes, it chaunceth in leage of peace, thy men to be beaten downe, slayne and conquered, by traynes and wyles, whom power and manlynesse coulde neuer haue subdued.

54. ¶ Of the besiegyng of cyties.

Let not thyne armye doubt to set vpon cytis warded with all kyndes of defences yf they shall perceyue dastardes, and vnscylfull fellowes to kepe the defence. For hygh towres, stronge double walles, can not defende those that be cowardes, caytyfes, and rude of all warlye knowledge. Feare doth stoppe theyr eares, and dasyll theyr syght. Wherfore without taryaūce when thou shalt come to suche cytyes, set vpon them rounde about, thonderyng as heauen, with noyse and outcryes, whom it shall be easye to vanquysshe, wythoute moche blooudsheddynge. But beware, thou slacke not and abate thyne assaulte, vntyll thou haue wonne the cytie, leste theyr courages and force by sufferaunce, encrease, and so the siege shall be dayly more paynefull and harde.

55. ¶ To make brydges wyth ropes.

Auncyent

Auncient capitaynes were wonte to ca-
ryouer theyr armye (bycause bootes and
queres were scante & daungerous) wyth
ioyned brydges made of wood. But by-
cause stuffe doth somtyme want to make
suche brydges, and longe it is yer they cā
be done, mynd aduyse is to make brydges
wyth strōnge ropes, cast ouer the water,
knytte fast to pyles and stakes of woodde
and in the myddes of the streame, vnder-
set with proppes and beames to make
them styffe. For the easye passage of thy
men. And suche ropes the armye maye al-
wayes carye with them, that they be not
stopped at any water.

¶ To reuenge our enemyes with lyke anoyaunce. 56.

It chaunceth oft tymes, eyther for ba-
lyaunt prowesse of our enemyes, or ỳ mul
titude of them that thy men doo sustayne
great losse and dammage: whych is to be
reuenged moost fiersely, with suche an o-
ther lyke, and not to be forgotten and vn
payed. For by suche displeasures or vyo-
lence shoulde ben enflamed to vengeaūce,
whereby we shall kepe oure dygnytye,
and purchasse the good opynyon of oure

souldyours, and also of the communaltie, which shalbe a stay to kepe the same faithfull and sothfast.

57 ¶ How to conueye the battayl from one place to an other.

Yf it be moze daungerous and noyous vnto the, to gyue battayle in thys place, than in that, vse thys remeadye. Carye thyne armye vnto the other countryes of thyne ennemyes, besyegynge theyr cities, burnynge the villages, spoylyng and wastynge the fyeldes, and so cause them rather to followe the, then thou to followe them. But for all that, do not leaue thyne owne countryes vndefensed, desyryng to waste and destroye others.

58. ¶ To relyeue the scarcenes of water.

If cities and townes besyeged, haue scarsitye of water, thys remeadye is next fyrste to sende out the base people, women and vnprofitable, and then to kyll all the cattell, and laye them in salte for theyr sustenaunce, that the water whych was so wasted by them, may be kepte, by whych meane, they shal be able to contynue longer assaulte.

To

¶ To recouer cities and townes loste.

59. If we haue loste in sommer tyme (oppressed wyth the multitude of enemies, deceyued by the defaulte of oure men, or vndermyned wyth some trecherye) our cities or townes, lette vs endeuour to restaure in winter tyme the same cities, that the thynges lost by the slowthefulnes, of oure souldyours, in sommer tyme, maye be recouered wyth spedynes, and diligēs in wynter, and that we wynne agayne & restore the fame of chiualdrye, by the agayne gettynge of oure losses. For good fortune, sometymes doeth ensue, by the chaunge of tyme.

¶ What is to be done whan thou art ouermatched.

60. Yf thyne enemies gredely pursue the, ne yet then thow arte not able to defende and wythstande theyr violence: best it is to carye thyne armye, to some cyties nigh vnto the sea, bothe for the plentye and aboundance of vytayle, and also to refresh theyr broken strengthe, and wangled bodyes, and chyefly to furnysshe thy numbre, that thou mayste matche thyne ennemies,

nyes, aswell in noumbre of men, as also in valyantnes.

¶ To set fyere on thyne ennemies pauylions

61. If thyne enemyes pauilions be reered vp, and made of dry stuffe, trauayle with all haste, to sette them on fyre, and cheefe lye the wynde blowyng harde. By which policie they shall be despoyled, bothe of theyr cattayle, and other necessary implementes. For the fyer taken w̄ the wynde sodaynlye wyll ouerburne all the pauilions. And than also thowe mayste haue a good tyme, to sette vppon them. For whā they be doubtful, what is to be done whether to resiste thy force, or to saue theyr ryches, (whyche they set more by than their lyfe) they maye easelye be put to flyghte, and be slayne, and so then shall atchyue the victory wythout much bloodshedyng

¶ What is to be done when we can not atcheue out of a place wyth our armye.

62. ¶ We come somtymes by chaunce, w̄ our armye, into suche places, where neyther long we can abyde, ne yet saufely departe, or yet retreate wythout great daunger

ger, than what is to be done in such trou
ble and vttermost discumfyture, wyth all
spede we muste take counsayle, whã that
one waye of our sauftye dothe remayne,
that we take truce wyth them for a tyme
and promysse sure conenauntes of peace
by wytfull ãbassadours. Wherby it shall
be sure, that thyne enemyes more negly-
gentlye, wyl kepe watche and ward. And
thy tyme spyed, it shalbe lyght to passe by
and escape eyther by nyght, or els by day,
owt of that daungerous place. But som
tyme perforce thou must open a lane, and
make a waye, by harde strokes and man-
full fyghtynge.

¶ To make an assemble and shewe of horsemen in the face of thyne enemyes.

63.

¶ Myne aduise is, that the numbre of
our souldyours maye appere greate and
huge, to harneys the lacqueis of our hors
men, and apoynte them, to stande farre of
lyke a garrison of men, wyth the poyntes
of theyr speres vpryght. For so thyne en-
uemyes wyll iudge a bande of horsemen
there to appere, whyche shall moche af-
fraye theym, that we haue yet so greate

a noum-

a noumbre of souldyers at hande, to succour and ayde vs yf nede requyre.

¶ To refrayne frō the beliege of suche cities whych haue daylye newe succour.

64. Best it is to wythdrawe and leaue of the syege of suche cities, whych fetch vnto them (maugrye our teth and in spyte of our hertes) daylye newe succour. For the assaulte through theyr new ayde, is hard yea almoste vnpossible, when lustye and stronge men, occupy the rowmes of them that be woūded, and theyr vytayles be so plentye, that they fele no lacke nor skarsitye. Wherfore we must allwayes fyght wyth freshe men, newe strengthes, and plentye of vytayles. Vnt yet sodaynly to breke owte, and beseyege suche cities I do not muche dyssalowe.

¶ What is moste expedient for the chyfe capitayne to do at the fyrst entrye in to countreyes.

65. If we make entries in to any countrey wyth an armye, myne aduise is, bycause it were paynful, & harde, to lay syege to euery towne, and assaulte euery citie, to

sende

sende sage and honest personages, to pro-
misse, for a long tyme, the release of their
rentes, and affyrme the same wyth fayth
and many othes. yf wyllyngly they wyl
yelde and become hys lyeges, and trewe
subiectes.

¶ What is to be done in ỳ syege of bygge cities.

In the syege of greate cities, takyng a bygge compasse rounde abowte, we must wyth all labour: make and intercut not farre of the citie, brode and depe trenches defensed wyth turrettes of woodde, for feare of sodayne eruption, owte of the cí tye, whyche is the cause of many incom-modities, than brode wayes must be cast that thone parte of the hoste, maye haue course and recourse to helpe the other yf nede be. 66.

¶ What is to be done whã oure enemyes spyes are taken.

yf the spyes of oure enemyes chaunce into our handes, myne aduisement is, to graunt them lyfe, and gyue to them gret summes of money, therby to knowe the counsayle of oure enemyes, and their pur-

pose, 67.

pose, and semblable to tell to them what thynges be moost profytable, for vs to knowe. For nothynge is more necessary, than to knowe the endeuours, of our ennemyes, whan lytle or nothyng they can hynder what we do pourpose. But yf we shal sende theym awaye liberallye, rewarded, demaundynge nothynge of thaffayres, of our enemies, it shalbe a great argument of confydence & assured boldnes in vs, to the great feae of orur enemyes, But the capitayne may take counsayle of thinges, & performe what he shal thinke necessarie.

68. Not to haue one espye alwayes.

Do we remembre thys, that it is not conuenient ne yet necessarye to vse one espye styll. For they allured and enuegled, with ŷ hope of great rewardes, do bring oure conueyaunces and affayres, to the eares of our enemyes, and recount to vs suche thynges, as be false and nothynge necessarye, wyth many false lyes, where fore we muste diligentlye forsee, that neyther of the scoute watches, the one know the other, for feare of crafte and trechery whyche thyng ones knowen, to hang thē is nexte remedye.

To

¶ To knowe the feare and cowardise of thyne ennemies.

When the hostes bene at toynynge, yf we perceyue the speres of our ennemyes, to moone and beate to gyther, that is a great sygne of theyr wauerynge, and hol lowe hertes. And it is good somtyme to knowe suche tokens of cowardnes. 69.

Of the duetye of bolde and stoute fellowes.

It becommeth not those that be valyaunt, to feare any ieoperdye, or to be broken wyth the doubtefull chaunge of fortune, when nothynge is so vnweldable, that by manlye prowes, and sufferaunce, maye not be conquered and vndertroden. 70.

¶ To recouer the health of thy souldyers.

If thyne armye be troubled wyth any dysease, & ÿ doest couet to recouer theyre wounte healthe, it shall be the best, to carye them to open and hyllye places. 71.

¶ A policie to disceyue and defraude our enemyes.

Easy it is to trifle wyth our enemyes, and make them beleue that we be vnharneys- 72.

neyled yf we couer oure harneys, wyth some kynde of rayment, vnder whych coloure and gyle, they wyll come hedlynge to fyght, and wyth fewe rashlye, wyl set vppon vs.

¶ To gette the fauour of oure souldyers.

73. If the capytayne be dyligente to heale them that be wounded, and also cherysshe the sycke folke, shortleye ye shall wynne the fauoure of hys souldiours, so that for the encrease of his renowme, they wyll not shrynke: to bestowe and spende theyr lyfe.

¶ To haue fyere to burne in water.

74. It shalbe very profitable i warres on the sea, to haue an artificiall fyer, whych wyth water canne not be queanched, by whyche policie, the nauye of Sarracena, was destroyed at Constantinople, and the kynge therby payd yerelye a hundred poundes of golde for tribute.

¶ What is to be done whan capytaynes do not agree in one sentence.

It chan-

It chaũceth oft times ỹ mindes of ỹ capi 75.
taynes to be diuerse & variable, about the
beſiege of cities; where beſt it is fyrſte to
begyn, and there chefely where the armie
is furnyſhed wyth lyke power of dyuers
capitaynes. But what is to be doone in
ſuche a chaunge of myndes, ſhortlye ſhall
you knowe. Wryte the names of the cytie
and caſt them into a potte, and the cytye
whych ſhal fyrſt by chaunce be taken out
ſet vpon that wholye togyther, wyth one
force and power, whiche aduertyſement
is not the worſte. For through ſuche dyſ-
corde, the death of an whole armye maye
ryſe and come.

¶ Of falſehode to be reuenged. 76.

Although other iniuryes maye be ſuf-
fered, and to forget them is a token of a
noble mynde, yet diſloyaltye by all mea-
nes is to be reuenged and acquyted.

¶ A waye to laye ſiege to cytyes 77.
on the ſee ſyde.

When we may arryue and caſt anker
by the walles of the cytye, myne aduyſe
is, to dryue thyne enemyes of the walles
is this. Fyrſt hard & faſt, to bynde the ma-
ſtes of the ſhyppes togyther with the ga-

ble ropes nye some shore, and so to make a brydge, that the gunnes maye stande to beate thyne ennemyes from the walles, whych ones dryuen away, it shall be easy on that syde to sette ladders, and scale the walles to the wynnyng of the cytie.

78 ¶ Where we haue onely welle water.

Yf for the greate scarcitie of water, we ben enforced to occupye wel water, great hede is it to be taken, that suche welles be not poysoned, by some crafte: to the vtter destruction of theyr whole hoste, whyche sone maye chaunce, yf we take not mooste dyligent care and hede.

79. ¶ To chose a place to fyght in.

When our enemyes doo preuayle in force and nombre of men, and we can not auoyd but gyue battayl, best it is to chose a narrowe and strayte place, lest our enemyes enclose and compasse vs rounde about, wherby we shalbe sone banquyshed and ouercomen.

¶ To mocke our enemyes.

78. Yf we be dryuen to fyght on the hye see, for

for that we be not able to matche our ene
myes, and they make sayle after vs verye
swyftly, and ben euen in our tayle, it shal-
be good to mocke them thus. Fyrste to
cause our nauye to stryke sayle, and make
a bragge as we wolde fyght, that done,
wyll the maryners (at a sygne gyuen) to
hoyse vp the sayles, to be readye to flye a-
gayne, the whych thynge when thyne e-
nemyes shall perceyue, shortly wyll they
shyppe theyr ores, and take them to theyr
harneys, couerynge theyr heedes wyth
theyr sallettes, and brefely prouydyng all
thynges whych shall be thought neces-
ry for battayle. Thē when we shal se our
enemyes harnessed, and readye to fyght,
(the sygne gyuen) our nauye maye make
awaye with all haste, and flye. And they
loden wyth harneys, shall not recouer to
ouertake vs.

¶ When thyne hoste is in great ieopardye. 81.

When thyne armie is in great ieoperdie,
my cousayl is ỳ chiefe capitayne, yea & al
ỳ capitaynes, to lyght downe from theyr
horses, therby to encourage the hertes of
their souldiours by their bold aduēture &

lyke daunger, and that moze stoutlye and gredely they maye fyght, seing theyr captaynes beinge in lyke peryll, and fiersely encountrynge wyth theyr ennemyes, and so the souldyours castynge of all hope to flye, may consydze this with them selues eyther to vanquysh theyr enemyes, oz els to dye with glozye and prayse.

82 ¶ what is to be done when thyne enemyes ben at hande.

When the hostes ben in ioynynge, and both partes redye to fyght, it is the parte of a pollityke and wyttie capitayne, to promesse greate rewardes vnto hys men, yt they beatdowne and subdue his enemies wyth whyche hope they greatly gladdened, wyll be moze prest to set vpon theyr enemyes and purpose wyth them selfe neuer to gyue ouer, ne turne theyr faces, vntyll they haue atchyeued the vyctozye, whych assured opynyon hath ben ỹ cause of many victozyes.

83. ¶ To prouyde that thyne armye maye haue suffysaunce of vytayle.

The dutye of a carefull capitayne is to foresee that hys armye haue suffycyent vytayles.

vytayles. For yf they be sterued for hũgre, vnpossible it is that they shoulde do anye thynge vyliauntly, when not onlye men, but also horses famyshed, doo lose theyr strength and lustynesse, whereby they be not able to stryke theyr enemye, ne yet to defende theyr selues.

¶ To prouoke thyne enemyes to fyght in ioyned battayle. 85.

Yf thou desyre to ioyne in battayl wyth thyne enemyes, and to come to handstrokes, eyther for the greate commoditie of thyne armie, or for some great nede, myne aduyse is to dispeople the countries, wast and destroye the fieldes rounde about, to cause thyne outryders to raunge, harde to the pale of thyne enemyes, or vse some other kynde of displeasure, wherby they prouoked, rashly wyll gyue battayle, and so accordyng to thy desyre, thyne enemies shall come forth. But yet remembre neuer to ioyne in battayle, except thou haue before vsed some pollicie, or layed thy trayns, to entrappe thyne enemyes, or doo preuayle in an excedyng nombre of men, and force of souldyours whiche be bothe actyue and puissaunt. Then vndoubted-

lye wythoute anye sleyghtes in playne fielde saufely thou mayest encountre and ioyne in battayle with them.

¶ Thus endeth the boke of Iames the Erle of Purlilie, dedicated to kynge Ferdinandus, in the yeare of our Lorde. M.D.xxviii.

I Wyll be bolde moost gentle readers to put to this one precept of warre. In whiche I wyl somewhat to my poore iudgement, shewe the nature of Englysh men, that the capitaynes of Englande may knowe and be warned (which thynge without my warnynge they do well followe and kepe) although I shal do no great hurt to leaue that in writynge, whiche they to theyr hygh prayse forsee in theyr warres, that Engysh men be not able to continue war, neither at home ne yet in forayne royalmes, without vytayles. Wherfore all capitaynes ought to prouyde, that theyr souldyours maye haue meate and drynke ynough to fylle theyr bellye, or els they can not so fiersely and gredelye contynue warre as they dyd begynne. For Englyshmen of our nature, be not content with so lytle meate and scarce foode, as other men borne in the hye countryes be: For whych cause, theyr strength is weakened, when that they lacke feedyng, accordyng to the saying of Polidore, which sayth that none armye, neuer so great, is able to withstande a garrison of Englyshe men at the fyrst brounte and begynnynge of

of theyr warres. Whych saying maye thusway be true, yf they haue not suche plentie of vytayles to suffyce theyr appetyte and hungre as they had at the begynnyng. For by hungre theyr force and fiercenesse, doeth slake. Also all you capitaynes remẽbre to prayse & set forth wt mooste gentle wordes, the doynges of youre souldyours, and sometyme to rewarde them freelye, when wyth prayse they ben encouraged and harted to take in hande any great enterprice, and for hope of ryches at the deuysion of the pyllage, and bothe they wyll not feare to ieoparde theyr lyues. Wherfore they must be cõmaunded at the wynnynge of all townes and cyties, fyrste manlye to fyght and delyuer them selues out of al feare of theyr enemyes, and then frelye euery man to get what they canne, and gather all prayes to theyr owne vse and profyte. Wyth whyche hope they wyll be so encouraged, that the power of anye prince, is not able to beare theyr force and violence. For by nature men of the east countrie, be sharpened to fyght, and encouraged by hope and aduantage.

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FINIS.

The table.

A table contaynynge the chapiters of the fyrste booke,

To chose the capitayne. Cap. 2.
Of sufferaunce in warre. ca. 3.
Of the stowte and valyaunt mynde of a capytayne. 4.
Of the assyege and assault of a citie. 5.
Of a gret army of our enemyes. 6.
Of the reyroche of that capytayne which howeseth hys armye in the sommer tyme. 7.
To spye and serch a place to fyght in 8.
Of the apparell of the capitayne. 9.
To knowe the maners and condicions of thyne enemyes, before thowe make Battayle. 10.
Of the Germaynes & Frenchmen. 11.
Of sedition to be appeysed amonges an armye. 12.
Howe to viewe the armye of thyne ennemyes. 13.
Of peace to be p̄ferred before batayle. 14.
Of tempestes and other clamours, in an hoste. 15.
Of the rerewarde. 16.
Of great cities. 17.

In

The table.

In campyng thyne armye what is to be done. 18.
To kepe thy frendes. 19.
Of quyckneſſe in battayle. 20.
Of the arraye to be kepte. 21.
Of a lytle multitude in a cytie. 22.
Of the hope and truſt of ſedicion. 23.
what is to be done in tyme of peace. 24.
Of fayned rumours. 25.
Of the offyce of the capitayne. 26.
To knowe whether a citie is thy frende, or no. 27.
Of cõfidence & aſſured hope in battayl. 28
Of the ſituation of the citie to be ſearched and knowen by ỹ capitayne him ſelfe. 29.
Of libertie to be kept and encreaſed of all men. 30.
Of the doubtfull commyng of thyne enemyes. 31.
When the arraye of thyne ennemyes is troubled and out of ordre. 32.
Howe to make thyne Armye ſtronge and luſtye. 33.
A pollicie to be vſed when thy men do forſake the. 34.
To ſearche and boult out the counſayl of thyne enemyes. 35.

Of

The table.

Of them that be beſyeged. 36.
What is to be done whan two hoſtes do bere and purſue the. 37.
A crafte & policie to take a cytye. 38.
A policie to encreaſe thyne armye wythoute great charges. 39.
Of an healthſome lawe to be made in the citye. 40
Of exceſſe to ben eſchewed. 41.
Of wantonnes to be caſt of in welth. 42.
To throwe downe villages and caſtels vndefenſed. 43.
Howe to pourchace frendes and to kepe the ſame. 44.
To abyde ſyege. 45
whan it is mete to fyght by eruption. 46.
To interclude ỳ paſſage of our enemyes, by fyer. 47.
A policie to ſtoppe the flyeng of our enne myes. 48
Howe ſyege is to be layed to cities and caſtels and of them that be beſyeged. 49.
To auoyde and eſcape traynes. 50.
Of hoſtages and pledges rather to be taken than to fyght in open battayle. 51.
To ſtoppe an hauen. 52.
To make hydde and falſe, dyches to betraye thyne enemyes. 53.

To passe ouer a water wyth an army. 54.
To knowe whether thyne enemyes ben afrayde. 55.
To constrayne thyne ennemyes to fyght in open battayle, and to come to handy strokes. 56.
A policie to flye. 57.
Whan thyne ennemyes snatche vp and destroye the laste warde. 58.
Of the notable falshod of the barbarouse people. 59.
When fewe muste make battayle wyth many. 60
The offyce of the capitayne. 61.
To forbere holye thynges. 62.
Of the capytaynes liberalitye whan the battayle is wonne. 63.
Of reproche to ben eschewed. 64.
Of the capitayns offyce in ioynyng of ỹ battayle. 65.
Howe to entreate thyne enemyes, the victorye obteyned. 66.
To kepe leage & promysse of peace wyth our enemyes. 67.
Of the capitaynes office in accomplysshynge all thynges. 68.
Whan thyne enemyes armye prepareth pas-

passage ouer any water. 69.
Whan thy souldyours be astonyshed & fearefull. 70.
Whan scarsitie of bytayles is amonge oure enemies. 71.
Battayle is not to be begonne but of necessitie and constraynte. 72.
To refrayne frō battayle before we haue deuised and layde our traynes. 73.
What is to be done that oure ennemyes maye be perswaded theyr capitayne to be slayne. 74.
To kepe whole and sauke territories and townes. 75.
That thyne armye is to be lodged & kept in the marches of thyne enemyes. 76.
What is to be done whan in wynter we muste fyght. 77
Of pleasures to ben eschewed of the captayne and the hoste. 78
To chose a place to fyghte in whan the sonne and the duste maye be noysome to thyne ennemyes and in theyr eyes. 79
Of tyme not to be loosste, and vaynely spente. 80.
Of good and euell doynges semblable to be rewarded as punyshed. 81.

what

what is to be done whē thy men be light and spedye. 82.
That examples do helpe to encowerage souldyours. 83.
That nothynge be done agaynst the capitayns commaundement. 84.
To restrayne thy souldiours somtyme. 85
It is not tyme to fyght whan thyne enemyes doo despayre, and be careless of theyr lyfe. 86.
what is to be done whan we mystruste oure souldyours to ben afrayde of the sowne of gonnes and noyse of them that wayle. 87.
what is to be done whan thyne ennemyes are moste parte archers. 88.
what is to be done before the syege of a citye. 89.
Of rashenes to ben eschewed of a capitayne. 90.
A policie to take the fotemen. 91.
A policie to defeate and disapoynte the gunners that they stande in no steade and vse. 92.
Of the office of the capytayne i ordryng the affayres of hys armye. 93.
To refrayne aswell from the empyre as from

The table.

from the treasures after ỹ victorye. 95.
To constrayne thy souldyers to fyght, 96
To tame fyerce people. 97.
To dissemble retreate. 98.
Of exercyse. 99.
What is to be done whan our ennemyes be conquered. 100
whã fewe must fyght agaynst many. 101
whan thy souldyours must sleape. 102.
To bryng suspicion of treason emonge thyne enemyes. 103.
Of outewarde helpe that be suspiciouse warely to be receyued. 104.
Of discention to be aswaged and appeased. 105.
what tyme townes and cities may be despoyled and taken. 106
Howe muche the presence of the graunde capitayne dothe profyt. 107.
Of the multitude of enemyes. 108.
Of our enemyes that be humble and tractable. 109.
¶ Of daungerfulle and perylouse battayle. 110.
It is mete for young men in theyr youth to practise martial feates. 111.
To encrease the nombre of thyne ennemyes

myes by a rumour. 112
To preuent the wyles and traynes of a noble prince. 113.
Of them that haue longe heare and long berdes. 114.
Before we laye syege to cities, good it is to possesse the vplande fyeldes. 115.
Of men wounded and kylled to be conueyed priuilye out of the way. 116.
Of the requestes of lowe and humble personages to be herde. 117
To vse cruelnes in the begynnyng of the warres. 118.
Howe to kepe thy kyndome by boldenes and couragyousnes. 119
Of chastitye in warre. 120
Of cauillations to ben experienced in ieo perdies by capitaynes. 121.
Of souldyers that do saye euyll by theyr capitayne. 122.
wyth what thynges thy souldyours are to be encouraged. 223.
To pourchace the fauoure of a straunge countrey. 124.
A capytayne muste be liberall, and therewyth prayslynge the stoutenes of hys men. 125.

what

The table.

What is to be doone whan eruption is feared. 126.
What is to be done of the capitayn whā hys armye is in extreme peryll and dā-ger. 127
Wyth what thynge the mynde of the cō mynaltye is gotten. 128.
Of the fashion to sende letters. 129.
Howe to allure thyne enemyes to slyppe awaye and fayle theyr capitaynes. 130.
Of the badgeys of the souldiours 131.
Of kynges and other prynces, that kepe not theyr faythe. 132.
Of the vyle condition of the cōmon peo-ple. 133.
Of a certayne kynde of defence. 134.
Of the swetenes of aduauntage. 135.
Of a troublesome & vnruly multitude. 136
Of the dutye of a good capytayne. 137.
In a newe rendze. 138.
Of the punysshemente of the capytayne, whyche forsaketh hys men. 139
To abstayn from robbyng of tēples. 140
To pursue thyne enemyes in ỹ chase. 141.
To dissemble retreate & feare. 142.
What is to be done whan great leoper-dies ar to ben vndertaken. 143.

To

To abstayne from treason. 144.
Of the sageneſſe and eloquence of the capitayne in his orations. 145.
To refrayne from spoyle and pyllage before thine enemies be wholy subdued 146
To refrayne from burnyng. 147.
Of aide and succoure to be sende to thy neyghbours abbordyng on the. 148.
What it is to do some valiaunt act in the syght and face of thyne enemyes. 149.
Of a lytle power not to be cõtemned. 150.
Of slouthfulneſſ to be eschued of the capitayne and all other. 151.
To viewe and knowe the countryes before thou cary thyne armye there. 152.
Of the encreaſe of thyne empyre. 153
The conditions of the capitayne. 154.
what is to be done i ỹ beſiege of cities. 155
A pollicye to knowe yf thy souldyours be faythfull. 156.
Of the great and huge coueytouſneſſe of the barbarous people. 157.
Howe to carye an armye ouer a water, thyne enemyes reſyſtyng. 158.
The cõfortable wordes of the capitayne, when his souldyours be in deſpayre. 159.
Of thy souldiours worſhypfully to be buryed. 160.

Whē ỹ power of thyne enemyes is moch stronger, what is then to be done. 161.
Of hostages. 162.
To stint ỹ wepinges & scrikes of womē 163
To hyde and couer the slaughter. 164.
To pacifye a stronge and valyaunt warryour which is displeased. 165.
Wages ar not to be craued, when ỹ treasures be spent and wasted. 166.
To passe by lytle thinges ỹ be harde. 167.
what is to be done of ỹ chefecapitais. 168
To kepe the possessyon of the thyng ones gotten. 169.
Of the nature and condition of the common people. 170.
Of a multitude of gūners and crossebow shoters. 171.
What is to be done when the walles be beaten downe. 172.
what is to be done in ỹ slackig of cities 173
To set vpon the campe of thyne enemyes not warely kepte. 174.
what is to be done in slow & slak siege 175
Of litle thynges not to be despysed. 176.
Of warre on the see. 177.
Of great perilles scaped and auoyded by rashnesse and foolehardynesse. 178.
Of a certayne kynde of defence 179.
where thyne enemies ꝑuayl i hoꝛsmē. 180

To rayse the siege of any cytie. 181.
Of cyties yeldyng them selues. 182
How necessary warly connyng is to souldyours. 183.
Great victories ben atchieued with fewe and expert souldyours. 184.
Of yonge men to be chosen. 185.
what men they shulde be to whome ỹ kepyng of coũtries & cities is cõmytted. 186.
Of the maner of fyghtynge. 187.
In what places best it is to lodge thyne armye. 188.
Howe to make stronge thy campe wt fortresses, thyne enemies assaultyng the. 189.
To take our subiectes rather then straũgers for souldyours. 190.
What is to be done in the assemble and takyng of souldyours. 191.
To kepe thyne armye healthfull. 192.
what is to be done when waters can not be auoyded. 193.
To chastice and agrieue thyne enemyes hoste. 194.
To knowe yf any spyes lurke among thy souldyours. 195.
To kepe close thy counsayles. 196.
The oration of the capitayne to his hoste when they be marchyngforth to fight 197

To take thyne enemyes by wiles. 198.
what is to be done with captyues and pri
soners. 199.
To fynde swete water and fresh. 1000.
Of nyght battayle. 1001.
Of the dutye of the capitayne in exercy-
syng hys souldyours. 1002.
Of the dutye of the graunde capitaynes
in battayle. 1003.
Of the foretoke and signe of battayl. 1004

The Chapiters of the seconde boke.

The proeme of the seconde boke vnto
the lawes of warre. 1.
Of them that yelde theyr selues to theyr
enemyes. 2.
Of an outstrayer. 3.
Of a spye or outryder. 4.
Of ronneawayes and landleapers. 5.
Of them that lose theyr harneys. 6.
Of them that do thynges prohybyted, &
kepe not the lawes and decrees proclay-
med. 7.
Of them that rayse vp sedition. 8.
Of a legion reculynge. 9
Of banysshed personages. 10.

Of hym that is sendforth lyke a slaue. 11.
Of them that be iudged to dye. 12
Of thē ꝑ steale ꝑ youth of chyualdry. 13.
Of hym ꝑ maymeth a yong souldyer. 14.
Of hym that leaueth hys companye. 15.
Of them that rebell. 16.
Of disobedience and sturdines. 17
Of hym that fleeth. 18.
Of spyes and scowtewatches. 19.
Of hym that woundeth hys felowe. 20.
Of runawayes and traytours. 21.
In what places the souldiours shall be forbydden to bye bytayles. 22.
Of them that leaue nyght watche. 23.
Of them that scape out of prison. 24.
Of a ronneagate and strydelande. 25.
Of ꝑ tyme apoynted by ꝑ capitayne. 26.
Of a disturber of the peace. 27.
Whē thy souldiers be i theyr iourney. 28.
Of them ꝑ skater owt of the cōpany. 29.
Of a captyne, 30.
Of them that forsake the capitayne. 31.
Of gonners on horsebacke. 32.
Of gonnes called serpentines wᵗ other. 33
Of a profitable defence of the campe. 34.
To gyue thankes and prayse to god after the victorye. 35.
Whether it be lawful for christen men to make and styrup battayle. 36.

They that go on warfare do leaue theyr
iewels at home. 37.
To make the water noysome & vnhealthy-
some to thyne enemyes. 38,
In what place ỹ battel is be to fought. 39
To kepe the citye besyeged, in faythe and
constancie. 40.
To scape oute of a narrow place. 41.
Of bowes. 42.
Of ỹ outragious assaulte of thyne enne-
myes. 43.
To forsee the place rounde abowt, where
battayle shall be. 44
To setvpon thyne enemyes in theyr tour
neye. 45.
What is to be done whan ourc enemyes
ouermatche vs in force. 46.
What is to be done whan we do fyghte
in straytes. 47.
Of ouer muche confidence. 48.
Of the capitaines commaundement that
no man take any prysoner. 48.
Not to depart frō the place apoynted. 50,
That the tētes be not left vndefensed. 51.
Of thyne enemyes fallynge in variaunce
and stryfe. 52
Let thy men be readye in harneys, thyne
ennemyes lyenge at hande. 53.
Of the besyege of cytyes. 54.

To make brydges wyth ropes. 55.
To reuenge our damages wyth lyke annoyaunce. 56.
Howe to conuaye the battayle from one place to an other. 57.
To relyue the scarsenes of water. 58.
To recouer cities and townes lost. 59.
What is to be done whan thow art ouermatched. 60.
To sette fyer on thyne ennemyes pauilyons. 61.
what is to be done whã we can not scape out of a place wyth our army. 62.
To make an assemble and shewe of horsmen in the face of thyne enemyes. 63.
To refrayne from the besyege of such cities whych haue dayly newe succour. 64.
What is moste expedyent for the chyefe capytayne to do at the fyrst entrye into countryes. 65.
what is to be done in the syege of bygge cities. 66
what is to be done whan oure ennemyes spyes be taken. 67.
Not to haue one espye alwayes. 68.
To knowe the feare and cowardyse of thyne ennemyes. 69.
Of the duty of bolde & stowte felows. 70
To recouer ỹ heath of thy souldiours. 71.

A policie to deceyue and defraude our en nemyes. 72
To get the fauour of our souldyours. 73.
To haue fyer to burne in water. 74.
what is to be done whan the capytaynes donot agree in one sentence. 75
Of falshode to be reuenged. 76.
A waye to laye syege to cities on the sea syde. 77.
where we haue onlye well water. 78.
To chose a place to fyght in. 79
To mocke our ennemyes. 80.
when thyne host is in great ieoperdy. 81.
what is to be done, when thyne enemies be at hande. 82.
To prouyde that thyne armye may haue sufficiaunce of bytayle. 83.
To prouoke thyne enemyes to fyghte in ioyned battayle. 84.

Finis.

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